

HANDBOOK "A"

A Collection of Recent Political Information October 14th to November 27th

This handbook brings under one cover some four hundred diplomatic notes, government proclamations, and party manifestos.

The first section gives the exchange of notes preceding the armistice of November 11th. The second section gives the armistice terms. Then follow, in separate sections, the various notes, proclamations, and manifestos, in Germany, The German States, Austria-Hungary and the subject peoples, Russia and the Border States, The Neutrals, The Allied Countries and the United States.

In each case the material is arranged in chronological order. It is possible, therefore, to locate any document, either by running through the columns devoted to the country in question, or by reference to the index which is given at the end.

The material is drawn from unofficial sources such as Reuter, Havas, Radio, etc.—C. M.

PREPARED BY
AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE

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PART I.

Diplomatic Correspondence Preceding the Armistice

Arranged in Chronological Order

GERMANY'S REQUEST FOR AN ARMISTICE.

October 5th.

The German Government requests the President of the United States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace, to notify all belligerents of this request, and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries for the purpose of taking measures to avoid further bloodshed. The German Government requests the President of the United States to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air.

MAX, PRINCE OF BADEN,
Imperial Chancellor.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S REQUEST.

From the Minister of Sweden to the Secretary of State.

Legation of Sweden, Washington, D. C.,
October 7, 1918.

Excellency,—By order of my Government I have the honor confidentially to transmit herewith to you the following communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President of the United States of America:—

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to his Lordship the President of the United States of America, and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea, and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the Message of President Wilson to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of February 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation, and in which the view-points declared by President Wilson in his address of September 27, 1918, will also be taken into account.—Be pleased to accept, etc.,

(Signed) W. A. F. EKENGREN.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FIRST REPLY.

The Department of State, October 8, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge, on behalf of the President, your Note of October 6, enclosing a communication from

the German Government to the President; and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the Imperial German Chancellor:—

Before making a reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that the reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the Note of the Imperial Chancellor. Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on January 8 last and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of their application? The President feels bound to say, with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the Armies of those Powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration. ROBERT LANSING.

THE GERMAN ANSWER—OCTOBER 12th.

In reply to the questions of the President of the United States of America, the German Government hereby declares:—

“The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8, and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently, its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms.

“The German Government believes that the Governments of the Powers associated with the Government of the United States also adopt the position taken by President Wilson in his address.

"The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation. The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed Commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation.

"The present German Government, which has undertaken the responsibility for this step towards peace, has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The Chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people.

"(Signed) SOLF,

"State Secretary of Foreign Office,

"Berlin, October 12, 1918."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S SECOND NOTE. October 14th.

In reply to the communication of the German Government dated the twelfth instant which you handed me today I have the honor to request you to transmit the following answer:—

The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his addresses to the Congress of the United States on January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision in regard to the communications of the German Government of the 8th* and 12th of October, 1918.

It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments, and the President feels it his duty to say that no arrangement can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the Armies of the United States and of the Allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the Allied Governments.

The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they persist in. At the very time the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German Armies are

pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed are being stripped not only of all they contain, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon, on July 4, last. It is as follows:

"The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency."

The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves.

The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the Governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

The President will make a separate reply to the Royal and Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary. Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

—(Reuter.)

*The date "eighth" of October in the above is, says Reuter's Agency, as telegraphed. Prince Max of Baden's Note was dispatched on October 5, and received in Washington on October 7.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO AUSTRIA.

The following is the reply of the United States Government to the Austrian Note of October 7, asking for an armistice in order to open negotiations:—

From the Secretary of State to the
Minister of Sweden.

Department of State, October 18, 1918.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Note of the 7th inst., in which you transmit a communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough, through your Government, to convey to the Imperial and Royal Government the following:—

The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he cannot entertain the present suggestion of that Government because of certain events of the utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his Address of January 8 last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States. Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a de facto belligerent Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks.

It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

The President is therefore no longer at liberty to accept a mere "autonomy" of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

THE GERMAN REPLY OF OCTOBER 20th.

"In accepting the proposal for an evacuation of occupied territories the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisers and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for arrangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard.

"The German Government suggests to the President that an opportunity should be brought about for fixing the details. It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with honor of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice.

"The German Government protests against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions made against the German land and sea forces and thereby against the German people. For the covering of a retreat, destructions will always be necessary and they are carried out in so far as is permitted by international law. The German troops are under most strict instructions to spare private property and to exercise care for the population to the best of their ability. Where transgressions occur in spite of these instructions the guilty are being punished.

"The German Government further denies that the German navy in sinking ships has ever purposely destroyed lifeboats with their passengers. The German Government proposes with regard to all those charges that the facts be cleared up by neutral commissions.

"In order to avoid anything that might hamper the work of peace, the German Government has caused orders to be dispatched to all submarine commanders precluding the torpedoing of passenger ships without, however, for technical reasons, being able to guarantee that these orders will reach every single submarine at sea before its return.

"As a fundamental condition for peace, the President prescribes the destruction of every arbitrary power that can separately, secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world. To this the German Government replies:

"Hitherto the representation of the people in the German empire has not been endowed with an influence in the formation of the Government.

"The constitution does not provide for a concurrence of representation of the people in decisions of peace and war. These conditions have just now undergone a fundamental change. A new Government has been formed in complete accordance with the wishes (principle?) of the representation of the people, based on equal, universal, secret, direct franchise.

"The leaders of the great parties of the Reichstag are members of this Government. In the future no Government can take or continue in office without possessing the confidence of a majority of the Reichstag.

"The responsibility of the Chancellor of the empire to the representation of the people is being legally developed and safeguarded. The first act of the new Government has been to lay before the Reichstag a bill to alter the constitution of the empire so that the consent of the representation of the people is required for decisions on war and peace.

"The permanence of the new system is, however, guaranteed not only by constitutional safeguards, but also by the unshakable determination of the German people whose vast majority stands behind these reforms and demand their energetic continuance.

"The question of the President—with whom we and the Governments associated against Germany are dealing—is, therefore, answered in a clear, unequivocal manner by the statement that the offer of peace and an armistice has come from a government which is free from any arbitrary and irresponsible influence, and is supported by the approval of an overwhelming majority of the German people.

(Signed) "SOLE."

NOTE TO THE ALLIES.

October 24th.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the twenty-second, transmitting a communication under date of the twentieth from the German Government and to advise you that the President has instructed me to reply thereto as follows:—

Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German Government that it

unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the Congress of the United States on the eighth of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, particularly the address of the twenty-seventh of September and that it desires to discuss the details of their application, and that this wish and purpose emanate, not from those who have hitherto dictated German policy and conducted the present war on Germany's behalf but from ministers who speak for the majority of the Reichstag and for an overwhelming majority of the German people; and having received also the explicit promise of the present German Government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the President of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice.

He deems it his duty to say again, however, that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which would leave the United States and the peoples associated with them in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible.

The President has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those Governments are disposed to peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as will fully protect the interest of the peoples involved and insure to the associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace which the German Government has agreed provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view.

Should such terms of armistice be suggested their acceptance by Germany will afford the best concrete evidence of her unequivocal acceptance of the terms and principles of peace from which the whole action proceeds.

The President would deem himself lacking in candor did he not set out in the frankest possible terms, the reason why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. Significant and important as the constitutional changes seem to be which are spoken of by the German Foreign Secretary in his Note of the twentieth of October, it does not appear that the principle of a Government responsible to the German people has yet been fully worked out or that any guarantees either exist or are in contemplation that the alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon be permanent.

Moreover, it does not appear that the heart of the present difficulty has been reached.

It may be that future wars have been brought under control of the German people but the

present war has not been; and it is with the present war that we are dealing.

It is evident that the German people have no means of commanding the acquiescence of the military authorities of the Empire in the popular will; that the power of the King of Prussia to control the policy of the Empire is unimpaired; that the determining initiative still remains with those who have hitherto been the masters of Germany.

Feeling that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the President deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften what may seem harsh words that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany.

If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender.

Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.

ROBERT LANSING.

THE AUSTRIAN ACCEPTANCE.

Count Andrassy, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, on October 27, instructed the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Stockholm to request the Royal Swedish Government to transmit to the Government of the United States the following reply to its Note of October 18:—

In reply to the Note which President Wilson on October 18, addressed to the Austro-Hungarian Government, and in the sense of the decision of the President to deal in particular with Austria-Hungary in regard to the question of an armistice and peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government has the honor to declare that, as in the case of the preceding statements of the President, it also adheres to his point of view as laid down in his last Note, regarding the rights of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, particularly those of the Czechs, Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. Consequently, as Austria-Hungary accepts all conditions upon which the President makes an entry into negotiations regarding an armistice and peace dependent, nothing now stands in the way, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, of the commencement of pourparlers. The Austro-Hungarian Government declares itself in consequence prepared, without awaiting the result of other negotiations, to enter into pourparlers regarding peace between Austria-Hungary and the States of the opposing party and regarding an immediate armistice on all fronts of Austria-Hungary.

It begs President Wilson to be good enough to make overtures on this subject.—(Reuter.)

A SECOND AUSTRIAN ACCEPTANCE.

Count Andrassy (October 29) sent the following telegram to Mr. Robert Lansing, United States Secretary of State:—

Immediately after taking over the control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I sent an official reply to your Note of October 18. You will see from it that we accept on all points the principles laid down by the President of the United States in his various statements.

We are completely in agreement with the President's efforts to prevent future wars by the organization of a family of nations. We have already taken preliminary measures to enable the peoples of Austria and Hungary, in perfect freedom, and according to their own desires, to decide upon their future organization.

Since the accession of the Emperor-King Carl, his constant endeavor has been to bring the war to an end. Now more than ever, this is the desire of the Sovereign and of all the people of Austria and Hungary, who are convinced that their future development can only take place in a pacific world free from all the shocks, privations, and bitterness of war.

This is why I address myself directly to you, and beg you to be good enough to use your influence with the President of the United States, that in the interests of humanity, as well as of the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary, an immediate armistice may be concluded on all the fronts of Austria and Hungary, and that this may be followed by the opening of negotiations for peace.

—Havas.

THE PRESIDENT'S FINAL NOTE.

Department of State, November 5, 1918.

"Sir,—I have the honor to request you to transmit the following communication to the German Government. In my Note of October 23, 1918, I advised you that the President had transmitted his correspondence with the German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those Governments were disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as would fully protect

the interests of the peoples involved and ensure to the associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government had agreed, provided they deemed such an armistice possible from the military point of view. The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the Allied Governments on this Correspondence, which is as follows:—

" 'The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. They must point out, however, that Clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must therefore reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference. Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his Address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that the invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed, and the Allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air.'

"I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government, and to communicate to them the terms of an armistice.

"Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

"To Mr. Hans Sulzer, Minister of Switzerland, in charge of German interests in the United States."

PART II.

The Armistice Terms

Summaries as Carried in Rueter Dispatches.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In force, November 4th.

Military Clauses.

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities by land, sea, and air.

2. Total demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian Army and immediate withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian forces operating on the front from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Within the Austro-Hungarian territory, limited as in clause 3 below, there shall only be maintained as an organized military force a maximum of 20 divisions, reduced to pre-war peace effectives.

Half the divisional corps and army artillery and equipment shall be collected at points to be indicated by the Allies and the United States of America for delivery to them, with all such material as exists in the territories to be evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian forces.

3. Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austria-Hungary since the war. Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces on each front of the Austro-Hungarian armies behind the line fixed as follows:—

From Piz Umbrail to the north of the Stelvio it will follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, passing thence by Mounts Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Ziller; the line thence turns south crossing Mount Toblach and meeting the present frontier of the Carnic Alps.

It follows this frontier up to Mount Tarvis, and after Mount Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Col of Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno [Terglou], and the watershed of the Cols di Podberdo, Podlanišcam, and Idria. From this point the line turns south-east towards the Schneeberg excluding the whole basin of the Save and its tributaries: from the Schneeberg it goes down towards the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia and Volosca in the evacuated territories.

It will also follow the administrative limits of the present province of Dalmatia, including to the north Licaria and Tri-vania, and to the south the territory limited by the line from the shore of Cape Planca to the summits of the watershed eastwards so as to include in the evacuated area all the valleys and watercourse flowing towards Sebenico, such as Cieola, Kerka, Butisnica and their tributaries.

It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia, from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Moan, Pago, and Patadura in the north up to Meleda in the south, embracing Santandrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina,

Tereola, Curzola, Gazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighboring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, only excepting the islands of Great and Small Zirmona, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

All territories thus evacuated will be occupied by the troops of the Allies and the United States of America.

All military and railway equipment of all kinds (including coal) belonging to, or within these territories, to be left *in situ* and surrendered to the Allies, according to special orders given by the Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of the Associated Powers on the different fronts. No new destruction, pillage, or requisition to be done by enemy troops in the territories to be evacuated by them and occupied by the forces of the Associated Powers.

4. The Allies shall have the right to free movement over all road and rail and water ways in Austro-Hungarian territory, and of the use of the necessary Austrian and Hungarian means of transportation.

The Armies of the Associated Powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria and Hungary at such times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or maintain order.

They shall have the right of requisition on payment for the troops of the Associated Powers, wherever they may be.

5. Complete evacuation of all German troops within 15 days, not only from the Italian and Balkan fronts, but from all Austro-Hungarian territory.

Internment of all German troops which have not left Austria-Hungary within that date.

6. The administration of the evacuated territories of Austria-Hungary will be entrusted to the local authorities under the control of the Allied and Associated Armies of Occupation.

7. The immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, of all Allied prisoners of war and interned subjects and of civil populations evacuated from their homes on conditions to be laid down by the Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of the Associated Powers on the various fronts.

8. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from the evacuated territory will be cared for by the Austro-Hungarian personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

Naval Conditions.

1. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships.

The notification to be made to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile

marines of the Allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waved.

2. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America of 15 Austro-Hungarian submarines completed between the years 1910 and 1918, and of all German submarines which are in or may hereafter enter Austro-Hungarian territorial waters. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed, and to remain under the supervision of the Allies and United States of America.

3. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America with their complete armament and equipment of 3 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, 12 torpedo-boats, 1 minelayer, 6 Danube monitors, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in Austro-Hungarian naval bases, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America.

4. Freedom of navigation to all warships and merchant ships of Allied and Associated Powers to be given in the Adriatic and up the River Danube and its tributaries in the territorial waters and territory of Austria-Hungary. The Allies and Associated Powers shall have the right to sweep up all mine-fields and obstructions and positions. These are to be indicated.

In order to ensure freedom of navigation on the Danube the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy or to dismantle all fortifications or defense works.

5. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture, save exceptions which may be made by a commission nominated by the Allies and the United States of America.

6. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in Austro-Hungarian bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America.

7. Evacuation of all the Italian coasts and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory, and the abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment and materials for inland navigation of all kinds.

8. Occupation by the Allies and the United States of America of the land and sea fortifications and islands which form defences and of the dockyards and arsenal at Pola.

9. All merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary belonging to the Allies and Associated Powers to be returned.

10. No destruction of ships or materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender or restoration.

11. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the Allied and Associated Powers in Austro-Hungarian hands to be returned without reciprocity.

BULGARIA.

In force, September 30th.

(1) Immediate evacuation of the territories still occupied by Bulgarians in Greece and Serbia; no cattle, cereals, or provisions to be exported from such territories, which must be left undamaged, the Bulgarian civil administration to continue in the parts of North Bulgaria occupied by the Allies.

(2) Immediate demobilization.

(3) Surrender of arms, munitions, and vehicles, which are to be stored under the control of the Allies, and of horses, which are to be handed over to the Allies.

(4) Restitution to Greece of the material of the Fourth Army Corps taken when the Bulgarians occupied Eastern Macedonia.

(5) The elements of the Bulgarian troops to the north and west of Uskub belonging to the 11th German Army to lay down their arms; they will be treated as prisoners of war and the officers will be allowed to keep their swords.

(6) Bulgarian prisoners in the East shall be employed by the Allies until the peace, while the Allied prisoners in Bulgaria are to be immediately released.—(*Secolo*.)

GERMANY.

(Paragraphs printed in heavy type were altered in the supplementary terms. The second version is given.)

One—Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

Two—Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the Allies and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three—Repatriation beginning at once to be completed within fifteen days of all the inhabitants of the countries above enumerated, (including hostages, persons under trial or convicted.)

Four—Surrender in good condition by the German Armies of the following war materials: Five thousand guns, (2,500 heavy, and 2,500 field,) 25,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer, 1,700 airplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly, all of the D7s and all the night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the Allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Five—Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. The countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local troops of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the prin-

principal crossings of the Rhine, (Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne,) together with the bridgeheads at these points of a thirty-kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the stream and at a distance of ten kilometers from the frontier of Holland up to the frontier of Switzerland. The evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine-lands (left and right bank) shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days, in all, thirty-one days after the signing of the armistice. All the movements of evacuation or occupation are regulated by the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Six—In all territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for offences of participation in war measures prior to the signing of the armistice. No destruction of any kind shall be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, and equipment, not removed during the time fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be removed.

Seven—Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the associated powers within the period fixed in annexure No. 2, and total of which shall not exceed thirty-one days. There shall likewise be delivered 5,000 motor lorries (camion automobiles) in good order, within the period of thirty-six days. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the period of thirty-one days, together with pre-war personnel and material. Further, the materials necessary for the working of railways in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals, and repair shops shall be left in situ. These stores shall be maintained by Germany insofar as concerns the working of the railroads in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. The note, annexure No. 2, regulates the details of these measures.

Eight—The German command shall be responsible for revealing within the period of forty-eight hours after the signing of the armistice, all mines or delayed action fuses on territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. It also shall reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs and wells, etc.) All under penalty of reprisals.

Nine—The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and United States armies in all occupied territories, subject to regulation of accounts with those whom it may concern. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten—The immediate repatriation without reciprocity, according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all Allied and United States prisoners of war, including persons under trial or convicted. The Allied Powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of them as they wish. This condition annuls the previous conventions on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, including the one of July, 1918, in course of ratification. However, the repatriation of German prisoners of war interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners of war shall be regulated at the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace.

Eleven—Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

Twelve—All German troops at present in the territories which before belonged to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, shall withdraw immediately within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August 1, 1914. All German troops at present in the territories which before the war belonged to Russia shall likewise withdraw within the frontiers of Germany, defined as above, as soon as the Allies, taking into account the internal situation of these territories, shall decide that the time for this has come.

Thirteen—Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilians as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen—German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Rumania and Russia, (as defined on August 1, 1914.)

Fifteen—Renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

Sixteen—The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their Eastern frontier, either through Danzig, or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories and for the purpose of maintaining order.

Seventeen—Evacuation by all German forces operating in East Africa within a period to be fixed by the Allies.

Eighteen—Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all interned civilians, including hostages, (persons?) under trial or convicted, belonging to the allied or associated powers other than those enumerated in Article 3.

Nineteen—The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery of reparation for war losses.

Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the National Bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Rumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

Twenty—Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty-one—All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty-two—Surrender to the Allies and United States of all submarines, (including submarine cruisers and all mine-laying submarines,) now existing, with their complete armament and equipment, in ports which shall be specified by the Allies and United States. Those which cannot be taken to these ports shall be disarmed of the personnel and material and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The submarines which are ready for the sea shall be prepared to leave the German ports as soon as orders shall be received by wireless for their voyage to the port designated for their delivery, and the remainder at the earliest possible moment. The conditions of this article shall be carried into effect within the period of fourteen days after the signing of the armistice.

Twenty-three—German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States shall be immediately disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports or in default of them in allied ports to be designated by the Allies and the United States. They will there remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States, only caretakers being left on board. The following warships are designated by the Allies: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, (including two mine layers,) fifty destroyers of the most modern types. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States and are to be completely disarmed and classed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The military armament of all ships of the auxiliary fleet shall be put on shore. All vessels designated to be interned shall be ready to leave the German ports seven days after the signing of the armistice. Directions for the voyage will be given by wireless.

Twenty-four—The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty-five—Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and

mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers. To secure this, the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defence works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Cattagat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters, without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty-six—The existing blockade conditions set up by the allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States should give consideration to the provisioning of Germany during the armistice to the extent recognized as necessary.

Twenty-seven—All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty-eight—In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports, Germany shall abandon in situ and in fact all port and river navigation material, all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, all naval aeronautic apparatus, material and supplies, and all arms, apparatus and supplies of every kind.

Twenty-nine—All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in Clause 28 are to be abandoned.

Thirty—All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty-one—No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender or restoration.

Thirty-two—The German Government will notify the neutral governments of the world, and particularly the governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the allied and associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately cancelled.

Thirty-three—No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after the signature of the armistice.

Thirty-four—The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period if its clauses are not carried into execution, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, which must give warning forty-eight hours in advance. It is understood that the execution of Articles 3 and 18 shall not warrant the denunciation of the armistice on the ground of insufficient execution within a period fixed, except in the case of bad faith

in carrying them into execution. In order to assure the execution of this convention under the best conditions, the principle of a permanent international armistice commission is admitted. This commission will act under the authority of the allied military and naval Commanders-in-Chief.

Thirty-five—This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.

(The armistice has been signed the Eleventh of November, Nineteen Eighteen, at five o'clock, French time.)

F. FOCH.
R. E. WEMYSS.
ERZBERGER.
A. OBERNDORFF.
WINTERFELDT.
VON SALOW.

TURKEY.

1. The opening of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and access to the Black Sea. Allied occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts.

2. The positions of all mine fields, torpedo tubes and other obstructions in Turkish waters to be indicated, and assistance given to sweep or remove them as may be required.

3. All available information as to mines in the Black Sea to be communicated.

4. All Allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners to be collected in Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

5. The immediate demobilization of the Turkish Army, except for such troops as are required for the surveillance of frontiers and the maintenance of internal order. The number of effectives and their disposition to be determined later by the Allies after consultation with the Turkish Government.

6. The surrender of all war vessels in Turkish waters, or in waters occupied by Turkey. These ships to be interned in such Turkish port or ports as may be directed, except such small vessels as are required for police or similar purposes in Turkish territorial waters.

7. The Allies to have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.

8. Free use by Allied ships of all ports and anchorages now in Turkish occupation, and the denial of their use by the enemy. Similar conditions to apply to Turkish mercantile shipping in Turkish waters for purposes of trade and the demobilization of the army.

9. The use of all ship repair facilities at all Turkish ports and arsenals.

10. Allied occupation of the Taurus tunnel system.

11. The immediate withdrawal of the Turk-

ish troops from north-west Persia to behind the pre-war frontier has already been ordered and will be carried out. Part of Trans-Caucasia has already been ordered to be evacuated by the Turkish troops. The remainder to be evacuated, if required by the Allies, after they have studied the situation there.

12. Wireless telegraph and cable stations to be controlled by the Allies, Turkish Government messages excepted.

13. Prohibition to destroy any naval, military or commercial material.

14. Facilities to be given for the purchase of coal, oil fuel, and naval material from Turkish sources after the requirements of the country have been met. None of the above material to be exported.

15. Allied control officers to be placed on all the railways, including those portions of Turkish control, which must be placed at the free and complete disposal of the Allied authorities, due consideration being given to the needs of the population. This clause to include the Allied occupation of Batum. Turkey will raise no objection to the occupation of Baku by the Allies.

16. The surrender of all garrisons in the Hedjaz, Assir, Yemen, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the nearest Allied commander, and withdrawal of troops from Cilicia, except those necessary to maintain order, as will be determined under Clause 5.

17. Surrender of all Turkish officers in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to the nearest Italian garrison. Turkey guarantees to stop supplies and communication with these officers if they do not obey the order to surrender. The surrender of all ports occupied in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, including Misurata, to the nearest Allied garrison.

18. All Germans and Austrians, naval, military and civilian, to be evacuated within one month from the dominions. Those in remote districts as soon after as may be possible.

19. Compliance with such orders as may be conveyed for the disposal of equipment, arms and ammunition, including the transport of that portion of the Turkish Army which is demobilised under Clause 5.

20. An Allied representative to be attached to the Turkish Ministry of Supplies, in order to safeguard Allied interests. This representative to be furnished with all necessary for this purpose.

21. Turkish prisoners to be kept at the disposal of the Allied Powers.

22. The release of Turkish civilian prisoners and prisoners over military age to be considered.

23. Obligation on the part of Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers.

24. In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

25. Hostilities between the Allies and Turkey shall cease from noon (local time) on Thursday, October 31, 1918.

PART III.

Germany

A few events before the Revolution are included, but most of the items follow after the Government had been seized by the Socialists. The material is arranged in chronological order. It includes only matters involving the central Berlin Government. Local events in the different states are given in a separate section—

Part IV.

November 4th.

A PROCLAMATION BY GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.

An Amsterdam message (November 4) says that Vorwärts publishes a proclamation by the leaders of the Social Democratic Party to the workers and members of the party, urging them not to respond to the summons to leave work during the next few days. The proclamation says:—

Since our comrades entered the Government, the latter has addressed an offer to our opponents that must very shortly lead to an armistice and peace. The bill for equal suffrage in Prussia has been carried; the Reichstag has been given a position of real central authority in the Empire, the personal regime has been abolished, the subordination of the military to the civil authorities has been carried out, and militarism has thus been deprived of its strongest support; the liberty of the Press and the right of meeting have been extended. Herr Liebknecht and many others have been released from prison. We are continuing to work to bring about the complete democratization of Germany.

The proclamation further recalls that Herr Scheidemann, in agreement with his party, has recommended the Chancellor to advise the Kaiser to abdicate, and it admonishes the workers not to hinder the negotiations which are taking place on this matter by thoughtless interference. The thing to do now, it says, is to keep calm, and maintain discipline. The proclamation concludes:—

Only unspeakable misfortune can accrue to one and all of you from thoughtless folly. Actions promising success must be sustained by the entire body of Labor. Do not follow any watchword, therefore, issued by an irresponsible minority.—(*Reuter.*)

November 6th.

THE CHANCELLOR'S APPEAL TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

A Berlin official telegram (via Amsterdam, November 6) announces that the Imperial Chancellor has addressed the following appeal to the German people:—

President Wilson has replied today to the German Note and has stated that his Allies

are agreed, with the exception of the point on the freedom of the seas, to the fourteen points in which he laid down his peace conditions in January, and that the terms of the armistice will be communicated to Marshal Foch. Thus a condition precedent for peace and armistice negotiations has been created. In order to put an end to the bloodshed the German deputation for the conclusion of the armistice and the initiation of peace negotiations has been appointed today and has left for the West. The negotiations will be seriously endangered in their successful course by disturbances and in discipline. For more than four years the German nation, united and calm, has endured the severest sufferings and sacrifices of war. If at the decisive hour, when only absolute unity can avert from the entire German people the great dangers for its future, our internal strength gives way, then the consequences cannot be foreseen. The indispensable demand in these decisive hours which must be made by every people's Government is the maintenance of the calm which has hitherto prevailed under voluntary discipline. May every citizen be conscious of the high responsibility which he bears towards his people in the fulfilment of this duty.

(Signed)

Imperial Chancellor, MAX of Baden.

November 7th.

THE ARMISTICE.

A Berlin official telegram (via Amsterdam, November 7) states that the following was issued by wireless last night by the German authorities:—

The Government having been informed on behalf of the President of the United States that Marshal Foch is empowered to receive accredited representatives of the German Government and to communicate the armistice conditions to them, the following plenipotentiaries have been appointed: Infantry General von Grudell, State-Secretary Erzberger, Count Obendorff, General von Winterfeld, and Naval Captain von Selow. The plenipotentiaries request to be informed by wireless where they can meet Marshal Foch. They will be accompanied by secretaries, interpreters, and a subordinate staff, and will arrive in motor-cars at the place to be designated.

In the interests of humanity the German Government would be glad if with the arrival of the German delegation at the front of the Allies the provisional cessation of fighting would take place.—(*Reuter.*)

November 8th.

A MESSAGE TO GERMANS ABROAD.

A Berlin telegram via Amsterdam (November 8) says that the Imperial Chancellor has issued the following appeal:

To Germans Abroad:—

In these difficult days the hearts of many amongst you, my fellow-countrymen, who, outside the frontier of the German Fatherland, are surrounded by manifestations of malicious joy and hatred, will be heavy. Do not despair of the German people. Our soldiers have fought to the last moment as heroically as any army has ever done. The Homeland has shown unprecedented strength in suffering and endurance. In the fifth year, abandoned by its allies, the German people could no longer wage war against increasingly superior forces. The victory for which many had hoped has not been granted to us. But the German people has won a still greater victory, because it has won a victory over itself and its belief in the right of might. From this victory we shall draw new strength for the hard time which faces us, and on which you also can build. To those of you who have fought and suffered for the German Fatherland during the four hard years of war, the German Government will not be lacking in gratitude. As far as it lies in the power of the German Government and the German people to mitigate the sufferings of this war and its consequences, their care will be extended to Germans abroad as well as to Germans at home.

(Signed)

Imperial Chancellor, PRINCE MAX.

—(*Reuter.*)

November 9th.

(Day of the Revolution.)

THE KAISER ABDICATES.

According to German wireless (November 9), the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, has issued the following decree:—

"The Kaiser and King has decided to renounce the Throne.

"The Imperial Chancellor will remain in office until the questions connected with the abdication of the Kaiser, the renouncing by the Crown Prince of the Throne of the German Empire and of Prussia, and the setting up of a Regency have been settled. For the Regency he intends to appoint Deputy Ebert as Imperial Chancellor, and he proposes that a Bill shall be brought in for the establishment of a law providing for the immediate promulgation of general suffrage, and for a constitutional German National Assembly, which will settle finally the future form of Govern-

ment of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the Empire.

"Berlin, 9th November, 1918.

The Imperial Chancellor,
"PRINCE MAX OF BADEN."

GENERAL STRIKE CALLED.

In an extra edition of Vorwärts the central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the following call to a general strike is published:—

The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Berlin has decided upon a general strike. All factories are at a standstill. The necessary administration of the people is maintained. A large part of the garrison, in close bodies of troops with machine-guns and guns, has placed itself at the disposal of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council. The movement will be guided in common by the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council will take charge of the maintenance of quiet and order. Long live the Social Republic!

THE WORKMEN'S AND
SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.

THE TWO GROUPS OF SOCIALISTS.

The Independent Social Democratic Party proposes Haase, Liebknecht, and Barth as members of a common Government. Regarding the further negotiations between both groups, the leader of the Social Democratic Party announces:—

The Independents urge that Germany shall be a Socialist Republic. The Social Democratic Party is following a similar aim; it will, however, ask the people and the Constituent Assembly to decide the matter. The further demand that the whole Executive Legislative and Jurisdictionary power should be in the hands of elected men of confidence of the whole of the working population and the soldiers, is declined by the Social Democratic Party as being a dictatorship of a part of one class, which is in contradiction of democratic principles. The further demand of the Independents, relating to the exclusion of all middle-class members of the Government, is declined by the Social Democratic Party, in view of the maintenance of the food supplies of the people. With regard to the proposal of the Independents regarding the participation of their representatives as a "provisorium" for three days (for the creation of a Government capable of concluding an armistice) the Social Democratic Party counter-proposes the demand that both Socialistic shades of opinion ought to co-operate, at least until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, to which also all other details as to a decision must be left.

THE BELGIAN MINES.

German Wireless Reports:—

"With regard to the note of Mr. Lansing referring to the stoppage of Belgian mining establishments, it is officially notified that the

German Imperial Government has loyally and precisely carried out the promises made to President Wilson in its note of October 20. Orders were at once given to the troops to protect private property, and to have every possible consideration for the population in the occupied territory. After it had been asserted on October 27 on the point of neutrals and on the Belgian side that the destruction of establishments above the earth had been commenced near Mons, the Government, on October 29, after a request made to the High Command, was assured by the latter that the destruction of Belgian mining establishments had not begun at any place, but that only certain preparatory measures had been taken, so that, in the event of the continuation of military operations, the putting out of working order of certain machines, to prevent their being used for about three months, would interrupt the possibility of production for that period.

In order to avoid such a temporary damaging of the Belgian mining establishments, the Imperial Government, on October 31, proposed to the Governments of Spain and Holland, to place the mines, completely undamaged, under their supervision. No expression of view of the enemy Governments with respect to this proposal has yet come to hand, in spite of the fact that no destruction of Belgian mining establishments has been undertaken."

November 10th.

EBERT'S MANIFESTO

According to German wireless (November 10), Herr Ebert, the new Imperial Chancellor, has issued the following manifesto:—

German citizens! Fellow citizens! Prince Max, the previous Imperial Chancellor, with the assent of the whole of the Secretaries of State, has handed over to me the business of the Imperial Chancellor. In accord with the parties I am about to proceed with the formation of a new Government, and I shall shortly inform the public of the result. The new Government will be a people's Government. Its endeavor will be to bring peace to the German people as speedily as possible, and to strengthen the freedom which it has gained.

Fellow citizens! I beg you all to accord me your support in the difficult task that awaits us. You are aware how seriously the war has menaced the food of the people, which is the first prerequisite of political life. The political revolution must not be allowed to disturb the feeding of the people. It must be the first duty of all in town and country not to impede, but to facilitate the production of food supplies, and their import into the towns. Shortage of supplies means plunder and robbery, which results in misery to all. The poorest would suffer the most; the industrial workers would be the most severely affected. He who obstructs the food supplies and other necessities or the requisite means of transport for their distribution, trespasses in the most serious manner against the whole community. Fellow citizens! I

urgently beg you all to leave the streets; preserve calm and order.

(Signed) EBERT, Imperial Chancellor.

A FURTHER PROCLAMATION.

German Wireless (November 10) reports that Chancellor Ebert has also issued the following Proclamation:—

The new Government has taken charge of affairs in order to preserve the German people from civil war and famine, and in order to enforce its just claims to self-determination. It can only accomplish this task if all the authorities and all civil officers in the town and country districts lend to it a helpful hand.

I know how hard it will be for many to co-operate with the new men who now have to conduct the business of the Empire. But I appeal to their love for our people. If the organization of public life stops in this serious hour, then Germany would become the prey to anarchy and most terrible misery. Therefore, together with me, lend your help to your country by continuing work in a fearless and unrelenting manner, everyone in his own sphere, until the hour has come that relieves us of our duty.

November 11th.

AN APPEAL FOR LENIENCY.

According to German wireless (November 11) the following note has been sent by the German Government to President Wilson:—
To the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing.

Mr. Secretary,

Convinced of the common aims and ideals of Democracy, the German Government has addressed itself to the President of the United States with the request to re-establish peace. This peace was meant to correspond with the principles which the President has always maintained. Its aim was to be a just solution of all questions in dispute, followed by a permanent reconciliation of all nations.

Furthermore, the President has declared that he did not wish to make war on the German People, and that he did not wish to impede its peaceful development.

The German Government has received the conditions of the armistice.

After a blockade of fifty months, these conditions, especially the surrender of the means of transport and the sustenance of the troops of occupation, would make it impossible to provide Germany with food, and would cause the starvation of millions of men, women and children, all the more as the blockade is to continue.

We had to accept the conditions.

But we feel it our duty to draw President Wilson's attention most solemnly and with all earnestness, to the fact that the enforcement of these conditions must produce amongst the German people feelings contrary to those upon which alone the reconstruction of the community of nations can rest, guaranteeing a just and durable peace.

The German people, therefore, in this fateful hour, address themselves again to

the President with the request to use his influence with the Allied Powers in order to mitigate these fearful conditions.

(Signed) SOLF,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST GROUPS.

A Berlin telegram via Amsterdam (November 11,) says that the negotiations between the Socialist Party and the Independent Socialists, with a view to forming a joint Government, have been concluded. The Committee of the Independent Socialists Party has addressed a letter to the Committee of the Socialist Party enumerating the conditions for the entry of the Independent Socialists into the Government. The letter is as follows:—

To the Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

In answer to your letter of November 9, we make the following statement:—The Independent Social Democratic Party, for the purpose of consolidating the Revolutionary Socialist achievements, is ready to enter the Cabinet on the following conditions:—The Cabinet should be composed only of Social Democrats who, as the People's Commissaries, should have equal authority. This stipulation does not apply to Ministers in technical posts (Fachminister) who will only hold the position of technical assessors to the Cabinet. Each of these Ministers will have to assist him two members of both the Social Democratic Parties with equal rights, namely, one member from each party. No period is fixed for the entry of the Independent Socialist Democrats into the Cabinet, in which each party will be represented by three members. The political authority is in the hands of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, which are to be summoned forthwith to a Plenary Assembly, to be drawn from the entire Empire. The question of a Constitutional Assembly will arise only when the situation created by the revolution is consolidated, and is therefore to be reserved for later discussion. If these conditions are accepted, we have delegated our members, Herren Haase, Dittman and Barth to enter the Cabinet.

(Signed) The Committee of the Independent Social Democratic Party.

The Social-Democratic Party has accepted the conditions in this letter, on which the Independent Social Democratic Party has consented to enter the Cabinet. The Social-Democratic Party's candidates for the Cabinet are Herren Ebert, Landberg, and Scheidemann. The Cabinet will thus consist of Herren Barth, Dittmann, Ebert, Hasse, Landsberg, and Scheidemann.—(*Reuter.*)

OFFICERS TO CONTINUE THEIR DUTIES.

The Minister of War and the Under-Secretary of State, Gohr, have sent the following orders to the General Commandos: In the interests of the general public, it is requested that every officer should continue to fulfill

his duties as far as he is able. Security and order, as well as the feeding of the population, can only be guaranteed if all forces unite for this purpose. All orders of the General Commando are to be obeyed as usual. Announcement will be made of the formation of Soldiers' Councils.—(*Tagliche Rundschau, November 11, e.*)

November 12th.

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

German wireless (November 12) sends out the following message:—

To the Secretary of State, Minister Lansing, Washington.

The armistice being now concluded, the German Government requests the President of the United States to arrange for the opening of the Peace negotiations.

For the purpose of their acceleration the German Government proposes first of all to take in view the conclusion of a preliminary peace, and asks for a communication as to at what place and what time the negotiations might begin.

As there is pressing danger of a famine, the German Government is particularly anxious for negotiations to begin immediately.

(Signed) SOLF,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

A PROTEST FROM THE SOCIALISTS AGAINST THE ARMISTICE.

According to German wireless (November 12) the Socialist parties of Germany have sent the following telegram to M. Branting in Stockholm, to M. Stanning in Copenhagen, and to M. Troelstra in the Hague:—

The Socialist Party and Independent Social Democratic Party urgently draw the attention of the Socialist Parties of neutral countries to the text of the armistice conditions, because they involve a continuation and intensifying of the starvation policy. If a blockade is to continue to exist which is to bring about a change in German shipping, and if 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 railway wagons are to be surrendered, whilst half of the railway material is already unfit for use, and if the enemy occupation troops are to be fed from German crops, then the feeding of the German nation is altogether impossible. We, therefore, beg the Socialist Internationale for its support for the purpose of preventing the incisive armistice conditions dictated by Imperialistic Governments, which must most severely hit revolutionary working classes and soldiers of the German Socialist National Government.

With Socialistic fraternal greetings:

For the Committees of the Social Democratic Parties and the Independent Socialist Party.

(Signed) EDUARD BERNSTEIN.
OSKAR COHN.
KARL KAUTSKY.
HERMAN MOLKENBUHR.
HERMANN MULLER.
WILHELM PFANNKUCH.

A DENIAL OF WAR-LOAN RUMORS.

German wireless (November 12) states:—

In contradiction to the rumor that the present Government has the intention of annulling all war loans it is most emphatically stated officially that all such rumors are mere inventions. According to the newspapers the result of the ninth war loan surpasses ten milliards.

A SOLDIERS' COUNCIL INSTALLED AT THE WAR MINISTRY.

A telegram from Berlin via Amsterdam (November 12) says that a Soldiers' Council has been formed in the War Ministry. A member of the Soldiers' Council named Schlesinger has been appointed to regulate at the War Ministry questions relating to war prisoners. The Demobilization Department has been occupied by the Soldiers' and Workers' Council.—(*Reuters*.)

November 13th.

THE NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

A telegram from Berlin via Copenhagen (November 13), states that the new German Government is constituted as follows:—

Interior and Military Affairs, Herr Ebert.
Foreign Affairs, Herr Haase.

Finance and the Colonies, Herr Scheidemann.

Demobilization, Transport, Justice, and Health, Herr Dittman.

Publicity, Art, and Literature, Herr Landsberg.

Social Policy, Herr Barth.—(*Reuter*.)

GERMAN CHANCELLOR'S APPEAL TO AMERICA.

The following appeal to President Wilson for the immediate dispatch of foodstuffs has been received at Washington (November 13) from the new German Chancellor, Herr Ebert:

The German Government urgently requests the President of the United States to inform the German Chancellor, Herr Ebert, by wireless, whether he may feel assured that the Government of the United States is ready to send foodstuffs without delay if public order is maintained in Germany and the equitable distribution of the food is guaranteed.

THE NEW ORDER.

According to German wireless, (November 13th), the Council of People's Commissioners publishes the programme of the new State Government in a manifesto which states:

(1) Martial law no longer exists.

(2) No limitation is placed upon the right of forming associations or of assembly, not even for employees and workmen.

(3) A censor no longer exists. Censorship for theatres is removed.

(4) The expression of opinion in speech and writing is free.

(5) Freedom of religious observance is guaranteed. No one shall be compelled to any religious act.

(6) Amnesty is granted for all political offences. All proceedings arising out of such offences are stopped.

(7) The law concerning auxiliary service for the Fatherland is repealed with the exception of the provisions referring to the settlement of disputes.

(8) Regulations for servants are put out of force, as well as exceptional laws against farm laborers.

(9) Provisions for the protection of workmen which were repealed at the beginning of the war are hereby again put into force.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

German wireless, (November 13th), reports that, in view of the wireless message of the Soviet Government, which urges the German nation to the formation of a government of violence and of sections, and in view of incidents which have occurred during the internment of the German General-Consulates, the German Government has addressed a note to the Moscow Soviet Government, in which it demands:

First, that the Russian Government shall recognize the present German National Government and shall refrain from bringing any influence to bear on the formation of another government.

Secondly, that it shall submit an explanation of the incidents which have occurred in respect to the internment and imprisonment of the German General-Consulates in Moscow and Petrograd.

Reports which have been received in Berlin state that the officials of the German Consulates in Moscow and Petrograd have left, and, together with about 700 people, presumably have already crossed the German-Polish frontier.

THE KOVNO COUNCIL AND THE BOLSHEVISTS.

According to a Stockholm wire, (November 13th), the following wireless telegram from Kovno, Lithuania, has reached the Swedish wireless stations:

To Moscow, Tsarskoe Selo, and other Russian radio-stations. The German labor and soldier movement is anti-Bolshevist. We, the representatives of this movement on the Eastern front, greet the Russian people, but decline all connection with the Bolshevik terror. We want no bread taken from starving Russia, but you must see to it that the will of the majority of the Russian peoples shall at last be realized, and that the terrorism of the minority shall not prevail.

(Signed) The Great Soldiers' Council, Kovno. (*Reuter*.)

HINDENBURG'S MESSAGE.

According to German wireless, (November 13th), Field Marshal von Hindenburg has addressed the following manifesto to the German Army:

The armistice has been signed. We have borne our arms until to-day in honor. In loyal devotion and in the fulfilment of duty, the army has accomplished great deeds. In victorious battles of attack and in stubborn

defence, in hard fighting on land and in the air, we have kept the enemy away from our frontiers and preserved our territory from the horrors and devastations of war. On account of the increasing number of our adversaries, of the collapse of our allies who stood by us to the end of their strength, and of the continually increasing difficulties of provisioning ourselves and of the carrying through of our economic life, our Government has been obliged to accept the hard terms of the armistice; but erect and proud, we withdraw from the fight which, for more than four years, we have carried on against a world of enemies. Out of the consciousness that we have defended our country and our honor to the utmost, we shall draw new strength. The armistice agreement obliges us to a speedy withdrawal to our home territory—under ruling conditions, a difficult task, which requires from each of you self-control and the most loyal fulfillment of duty, a severe test for the spirit and stability of the army. In battle, you have never left your Field-Marshal in the lurch. I rely upon you also now.

(Signed) Von HINDENBURG,
General Field-Marshal.

AN APPEAL TO THE TROOPS.

A Berlin Agency telegram (via Amsterdam, November 13) says:—

The Government has requested Marshal Hindenberg to issue an order in the strictest terms for the maintenance of military discipline. A similar order has been issued to the troops in the homeland. (*Reuter*).

THE NEW ARMY.

According to German wireless, (November 13), the people's Government has sent the following telegram to the Chief Army Command:—

The People's Government is inspired by the wish that every one of our soldiers, after their unspeakable sufferings and indescribable privations, may return home as soon as possible. This aim can, however, only be achieved if demobilization takes place according to a systematic plan. In case single bodies of troops return arbitrarily they endanger themselves, their comrades, and their country in the most serious manner. The People's Government expects of you most rigid discipline in order to prevent immeasurable harm. We request the Chief Army Command to inform the field army of the above declaration of the People's Government, and to make the following orders:—

(1) Relations between officers and men must rest upon mutual confidence. The willing subjection of the soldier to his officer and comrade, just as the treatment of the soldier by his officer are both necessary conditions for this. The unconditional obedience in service is of decisive value for the bringing back of German soldiers to their German homes. Military discipline and order in the army must on that account, under all circumstances be maintained.

(3) Soldiers' Councils for maintenance of confidence between officers and men have a consulting voice in questions of nourish-

ment, furlough, imposition of disciplinary punishment. Their highest duty is to endeavor to prevent disorder and mutiny.

(4) The same nourishment is to be supplied to officers, officials and men.

(5) The same additions to their pay. Same supplemental pay for officers and men.

(6) The use of weapons against those of our own people is only to be made in cases of self-defence or to prevent plundering.

A proclamation of similar text has also been sent by the General Government to the Secretary of State for the Navy for officers and men of the German Navy.

AN APPEAL TO THE PEASANT POPULATION.

A Berlin telegram (via Amsterdam, November 13) cites a long appeal by the new Government to the agricultural population to form Peasants' Councils with a view to ensuring food supplies for the country. The Government, it says, recognizes that voluntary self administration is a better method than even the best bureaucratic organization, and if the peasant population contributes to ensuring the food supplies of the country the Government will have no cause to resort to compulsory measures. Such measures will not be necessary if hunger drives no one to the country and if the returning masses of soldiers can be regularly fed. The appeal is signed by Ebert, Haase, Landsberg, Scheide-mann, Barth and Dittmann.—(*Reuter*).

DISCIPLINE IN THE GERMAN NAVY.

The Government has sent the following telegram to the Secretary of the Admiralty:—

We request that arrangements may be made to maintain military discipline, calm and strict order, in the whole navy: that orders of superior officers may be absolutely obeyed until they are relieved from office, and that members of the navy are only to be discharged by order of their superior officers. Officers are to retain their arms and badges of rank. Where Soldiers' Councils or Popular Committees have been formed they have to give unqualified support to officers to maintain discipline and order. There must be no damage to ships, military buildings or war material. All ranks have to co-operate in carrying out the conditions of the armistice speedily and completely. The navy must realize that everything depends on its conscientious co-operation for the carrying through of the armistice. We shall only receive peace if the conditions of the armistice imposed upon us are faithfully carried out. The Soldiers' Council of the Admiralty and the Admiralty Staff urgently recommend all Soldiers' Councils in the navy to act under this edict in such a way that all military orders may be carried through without delay.—(*Lokal Anzeiger*, November 13.)

THE ECONOMIC DEMOBILIZATION.

According to German wireless (November 13), a chief political authority entitled "State Bureau for the Demobilization of Economic Institutions Created for the War" has been instituted for the period of transition of German economic life to peace conditions. The

Director of this Bureau is Lieutenant-Colonel Koth, former director of the War Raw Material Department.

AN APPEAL FROM THE GERMAN WOMEN.

German wireless (November 13) circulates the following:—

To the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London.

Mindful of former common work for the benefit of women and children, thoughtful of the common fight for the Golden Rule, and confident of formerly acquired mutual respect, the women of Germany, represented by the National Council of Women of Germany, request the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland to use their influence to obtain a mitigation of the terms of armistice. They trust that the women of Great Britain do not want millions to die from starvation, which would inevitably happen if large quantities of our rolling stock be surrendered and if the troops of occupation are to be fed.

(Signed) GERTRUDE BAUMER.

ALICE SALOMON.

A similar message is addressed to the Marchioness of Aberdeen, Haddo House, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and to the National Council of French Women, Madame Siegfried, 296, Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.

The following message is also circulated by German wireless (November 13):—

Berlin, November 12, 1918.

To Mrs. Woodrow Wilson,
White House, Washington.

Madam,—According to the terms of the armistice Germany has to surrender a very large part of the rolling stock of her railways; at the same time she has to feed the troops of her former enemies in the occupied provinces of Germany.

The German women and children have been starving for years; they will die from hunger by the million if the terms of the armistice are not changed. We need the rolling stock of the railways to bring the food from the farms to the cities. It will be impossible to feed the soldiers of the occupied armies if we cannot get large amounts of food from overseas. The women and children all the world over have been the innocent sufferers of this terrible war, but nowhere more than in Germany. Let it be enough!

Through you, Madam, we implore our sisters in the United States of America, who are mothers like ourselves, to ask their Government and Allied Governments to change the terms of the armistice so that the long suffering of the women and children of Germany may not end in unspeakable disaster.

For the National Council of the Women of Germany.

(Signed) GERTRUDE BAUMER.
ALICE SALOMON.

NOVEMBER 14TH.

STATEMENT OF THE ARMISTICE COMMITTEE.

A German wireless message (November 14) states that the German plenipotentiaries

make the following declaration upon signing the armistice:—

The German Government will, of course, make every effort to carry out with all its force the obligations laid upon it. The undersigned plenipotentiaries recognize that in some points concessions have been made at their suggestion. They must not, however, allow the doubt to exist that the shortness of time for evacuation as well as the surrender of the indispensable means of transportation threaten to bring about a condition which might make impossible the future carrying out of the terms, without the fault of the German Government and the German people. The undersigned plenipotentiaries further regard it as their duty to call to mind their repeated oral and written declarations to refer yet once again with all emphasis, that the carrying through of this agreement must plunge the German people into anarchy and famine. After the demonstrations which have introduced the armistice, conditions were to be expected which, with full military security for our adversary, would have ended the sufferings of those taking no part in the conflict, namely, the women and children. The German people, which has held out 50 months against a world of enemies, will, disregarding all violence, maintain its freedom and unity. A people of 70 millions can suffer, but cannot die.

(Signed) ERZBERGER.
COUNT OBERNDORFF.
VON WINTERFELDT.
VON SELOW.

NEW MINISTERS.

According to an Amsterdam message (November 14), the *Berliner Tageblatt* says:—

The Socialist Government has offered the post of Deputy Minister of Justice to the Progressive Deputy Herr Waldstein, and the post of Minister of Finance to the ex-Secretary of State Herr Dernburg.—(Reuter.)

A CALL FOR DISCIPLINE IN THE FLEET.

Berlin telegram (via Copenhagen, November 14) says:—

The Government has sent a message to the Admiralty urging the strict maintenance of discipline, order, and the right of punishment in the German Fleet. The orders of superior officers, the Government enjoins, are to be unconditionally obeyed. The Soldiers' Councils are to support officers in maintaining discipline and order. Superior officers preserve their rank. Damage to ships, military establishments, or war material must not occur, but all authorities must co-operate in the fulfillment of the terms of the armistice, in order that peace may not be postponed.—(Reuter.)

THE ECONOMIC DEMOBILIZATION.

German wireless (November 14) reports:—

A new Federal Bureau has been established for demobilization and for the measures connected with the economic period of transition from war to peace in Germany. This Bureau has already made provision for those out of

employment. The measures have been communicated to the Communes, and it is remarked in connection with it that it must not be considered as a charitable measure. The German Federal State will repay to the Communes one-half of the total expenditure, and the Federal State in question one-third. In cases of necessity the German Federal State Government may increase its assistance. This relief will only be granted to persons who are willing and able to work, and who are in a needy state through lack of employment as a consequence of the war. Those who are out of work are obliged to take work assigned to them, even though it be outside their regular trade and at a distance from their home so far as local wages are offered, their health is not endangered and lodgings, free from moral objection, are offered to them. For married persons, care of their families is not out of the question. For the carrying through of these provisions, welfare committees are to be formed, consisting both of employers and employed in equal numbers.

THE GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER THE ROYAL ESTATES.

A Berlin telegram via Copenhagen (November 14) says:—

The Government has taken charge of the Prussian Crown estates, with the exception of the Imperial family's personal property.
—(Reuter.)

CENTRE PARTY APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY.

A telegram from Berlin via Copenhagen (November 14) states that the Centre Party in the Reichstag has issued an appeal, in which it says:—

We solemnly demand equality of rights for our principles. Now is the time to work for quiet security and order in the country, and to render the regulated administration of the State possible.—(Reuter.)

NATIONAL-LIBERAL STATEMENT.

The National-Liberal Party has issued an appeal in which it promises to co-operate in establishing a new and durable base for a truly democratic State. It demands the election of a Constituent National Convention as soon as possible.—(Reuter.)

APPEAL TO MISS ADDAMS

German wireless (November 14) circulates the following:—

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.

The German women, foreseeing complete starvation and misery for their country, urge their American sisters to intercede for the relief of the armistice conditions regarding the terms of demobilization, the blockade, wagons, and locomotives. We are all free voters of a free Republic now.—Greeting you heartily.

(Signed) ANITA AUGSBURG.

November 15th.

AN APPEAL FOR SPEEDY MEASURES.

According to German wireless (November 15), the following Note has been dispatched to America by Dr. Solf:—

To Secretary of State Lansing, Washington.

The German Government and the German people have gratefully taken cognisance of the fact that the President of the United States of America is ready to consider favorably the sending of food to Germany. But the distress is urgent!

The acceptance of the oppressive armistice conditions, especially the necessity for supplying from the scanty provisions the armies which are streaming back, the cessation of navigation in the North Sea and the Baltic by the continuance of the blockade, and the imperilling of our provisions by the disturbed conditions in the East—all this makes the situation in our country daily more unbearable. The peril of anarchism can only be avoided by the most speedy help.

I believe, therefore, that I shall not be appealing in vain to the humanitarian feelings of the President if I ask you to submit to him the request that, in order to save the German people from perishing by starvation and anarchy, he will, as quickly as possible, send to The Hague, or to some other place, plenipotentiaries who would discuss with plenipotentiaries of the German people details as to how the magnanimous help of America could save in time our Fatherland from the worst.

Perhaps the matter could be put in the tried hands of Mr. Hoover, who has rendered such great services in Belgium.

(Signed) SOLF,

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

FEAR OF FAMINE.

German wireless (November 15) states that Dr. Solf has sent the following note to the United States Government:—

To Secretary of State Lansing, Washington.

The return of the troops from the West gives rise to the fear that within a very short time Berlin and other large German towns will be cut off from supplies of food from the interior. We, therefore, repeat with the greatest anxiety our request of yesterday that you should not hesitate a moment in convening a conference at The Hague as proposed by us, to which our representatives could travel in the next few days. Further, we urgently request that the permission of the President of the United States be given that a German Commission leave immediately for America, so as to personally lay before the Government there the conditions existing here, and assure steps being taken for the purchase of the most necessary foodstuffs. We cherish the confident hope that the humanitarian feeling of the American people will not frustrate the possibility of saving thousands of women and children from death by starvation.

SOLF,

Secretary of State to the Foreign Office.

GERMANS IN TURKEY.

The following Note is circulated by German wireless (November 15):—

To the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, Washington.

According to the 19th article of the Anglo-Turkish armistice, all civilians of German

nationality should leave the Ottomann Empire immediately.

The literal fulfillment of this clause, which must cause severe hardships, especially to the poor people, must appear unreasonable after the conclusion of a universal armistice.

The German hospitals and asylums for the blind and orphans, the latter of which principally take care of Armenian children, would be compelled to close, thereby causing new sufferings to the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire.

The German Government requests that the President shall intervene in favor of these German civilians being permitted to remain in Turkey.

(Signed) SOLF,

Berlin, November 15.

NEW OFFICIALS.

German wireless (November 15) states that in accordance with a decision of the Council of National Plenipotentiaries the State Departments have been filled as follows:

Foreign Office, Dr. Solf.

State Treasury, Schiffer.

State Economic Department, Dr. August Müller.

State Department for Industrial Demobilization, Dr. Koth.

War Food Department, Emanuel Wurm.

State Labor Department, Bauer.

War Ministry, Scheuch.

State Admiralty, von Mann.

State Department of Justice, Dr. Krause.

State Post Office, Rüdlin.

Furthermore, there will be attached to the State Department as Under-Secretaries:—

Foreign Office, Dr. David.

War Food Department, Robert Schmidt.

State Labor Department, Giesberts.

As assistants to the State Secretaries have been appointed:—

Foreign Office, Karl Kautsky.

State Treasury, Eduard Bernstein.

State Economic Department, Erdman Koln.

State Department for Industrial Demobilization, Büchner and Schumann.

State Labor Department, Noske and Vogtherr.

State Department of Justice, Dr. Oskar Cohn.

State Secretary Erzberger will conduct preliminaries of peace negotiations in conjunction with the Foreign Office. Regarding the appointments to the State Home Office, negotiations are still in suspense.

REICHSTAG PROCLAMATION.

According to a Berlin telegram (via Amsterdam, November 15) the Reichstag has issued a proclamation to electors saying:—

Our present task is to work for security and order that we may make possible the regular direction of the State's affairs. At the same time respect must be guaranteed for all individual political and religious convictions. We beg the friends of the party throughout the country to deliberate on the situation and prepare for the elections.

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST VIEW.

According to German wireless (November 15), the Independent Social Democratic Party

of Germany, in a manifesto to the International Workers and Party Comrades, protests against the economic points of the armistice conditions. In the appeal the fact is pointed out that the German Revolution is no longer an object to be striven for, but a living reality. It continues:—

The guaranteeing of peace, the restoration of all destroyed economic system, and the building up of a Socialistic Society, are now important tasks that await us. Our people are bleeding from the countless wounds which have been inflicted upon them by the criminal policy of the possessing classes and the statesmen who represent them. Only by the concentration of all our forces can we succeed in bringing into being, on the ruins, a new world, a world of freedom and of brotherhood. The stringent armistice treaty renders this work very difficult. The German politicians who supported the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk have no right to complain that the Entente should treat them in like manner. But we, with our whole strength which we derive from our International Socialistic conceptions, combatted that peace treaty, as we did also that of Bucarest. With bleeding hearts we perceived at the time that we were not then strong enough to prevent those acts of violence. But the strong desire to right the wrong committed strengthened our forces into the highest revolutionary energy.

Now that the world has been liberated from the oppression of Prussian militarism, it is for you to wage war in your countries against a policy of violence, which would put down our Revolution and pave the way for fresh wars. By accepting the most oppressive conditions which are inflicted upon us, we are to-day yielding to the pressing need of the hour. But we appeal to your class solidarity, to your feelings of justice, and to your Socialistic feelings. We are convinced that you will so strengthen your power that the subjugation of your brothers shall no longer be possible. If you will follow us, the doom of capitalism has struck throughout the whole world. Long live the solidarity of all workers!

For the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

(Signed) ERNST DAUMIG,
WILHELM DITMANN,
HUGO HAASE,
ADOLPH HOFER,
GUSTAV LAUKANT,
GEORG LEDEBOUR,
ROBERT WENGELS,
LUISE ZEITZ.

AN APPEAL TO THE POPE.

German wireless (November 15), reports that the German Catholics have addressed to the Pope an appeal for help against the heavy burden of the armistice conditions. The manifesto points out that insistence upon the armistice conditions must throw the German people into the direst need, and continues:—

The demand for the surrender of railway material which is indispensable to us prevents the carrying out of the traffic

necessary for the victualling of the people who for four years have been starving. The food supplies for the enemy troops of occupation cannot be procured. We, therefore, urgently beg Your Holiness, in the name of humanity and of the principles of a religion of love, to intervene with the allies for the right of our people to live.

THE NATIONAL-LIBERALS

The National-Liberal Party has issued a proclamation saying:—

The German middle class also desires the fundamental reorganization of our constitutional conditions. It is firmly determined to continue to co-operate with all its strength in the creation of new and lasting foundations of a real democratic State. We demand the issue of writs for elections to the Constituent National Assembly as soon as all electors are in a position to fulfill the electoral duties of citizens. The Provisional Government will only be able to perform its task in close touch with the Reichstag, whose members remain the German people's freely elected representatives until the election of a National Assembly.—(*Reuter*.)

November 16th.

AN INTERVIEW WITH EBERT.

The following interview with the German Chancellor in Berlin (November 16, 1918) is sent out by German wireless (November 18):—

The Chancellor had been informed that the *New York Times*, whose proprietor is born of German parentage, waged a bitter warfare against Germany from the very beginning of the war, chiefly for the reason that this metropolitan daily, like many other American papers, feared that a German victory would lead to a weakening of democratic principles throughout the entire world. Herr Ebert expressed the hope that now that this fear had been obviated forever, through the terrible sacrifices and heroic uprising of the German people, there would be no further grounds for suspicion, and that the democratically minded Press in America and in all other enemy lands would assume a friendly attitude towards the German people in this, their most terrible crisis. Herr Ebert said in part:—

It is of particular importance that the young German Republic be properly understood by the American people and their President. We agree that this will come to pass the more easily since many of the ideas of President Wilson, and, therefore, of the American people, coincide entirely with the ideas which have inspired the German Republic and have created its Government, and which will continue to control them both. The demand for a peace of right and justice, of the right of self-determination of the peoples, of the sovereignty of the people over their own country, and of the organization of a League of Nations, constitute an essential part of the programme of the present Government. We are conscious of the fact that

this programme can be realized only upon the basis of that order which the people give to themselves and to each other. In order that we may be enabled to carry through our democratic political programme in Germany, the question of feeding the people, which is the fundament of every living State, becomes an absolute preliminary condition for the continued existence of the German Republic of the people. We were therefore pleased to observe how thoroughly the President of the United States realized the importance of this preliminary condition in promising us sufficient help in this matter, a promise which we are about to see realized almost immediately.

I trust, Sir, that you will convey through the *New York Times* our thanks to the President and the American people. Let us hope that, after a just peace has been established, common ideals will permit a working at common tasks for the welfare of the American and German people, and for the benefit of all humanity.

DEMobilIZATION.

A Berlin telegram (via Amsterdam, November 16, delayed) says that the War Ministry has issued an appeal, stating that all soldiers of the great German Army and Fleet cannot be discharged simultaneously, nor is it possible for every single soldier and sailor to be discharged. The appeal continues:—

Demobilization must take place in accordance with transport possibilities, and must proceed in an orderly manner. Therefore patience and calmness must be exercised until each man's turn comes. The discharge of the older classes up to 1879 inclusive has been ordered for the whole of the army, and that of the younger classes will follow. Men from Alsace-Lorraine who do not wish to serve voluntarily are to be discharged immediately. Men from the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, which is to be evacuated, and from the bridgeheads, may also be discharged at once, with the exception of those belonging to the 1898-1899 classes.—(*Reuter*.)

A German wireless message (November 20) states that concerning the nourishment of discharged troops it has been decided that compact formations will as heretofore be fed through the military authorities. On their discharge, troops receive nourishment for three days. So far as within this time, they have not yet been included in the food distribution of their new residence, they will receive vouchers from the civil authorities for their food supplies for seven days. The Communes are to be compensated for the additional burden thus put upon them.

ASSURANCES FOR THE CREWS.

German wireless (November 16) reports:—

The German Armistice Commission has directed to Chancellor Ebert for immediate communication to all submarine crews a letter in which it states that the English Admiral, Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, has given unreserved and absolute assurance that all crews of submarines to be handed over will be sent back to Germany as soon as possible after their

arrival in the harbors appointed by England. The Commission therefore requests the crews to hand over the submarines in good time. In connection with this the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Wilhelmshaven states that all men of ships which are brought into enemy ports are insured for Mk. 10,000 in case of death; a proportionate special pension has been provided for cases of accident. Besides, the married men who are concerned in bringing over the submarines receive a premium of Mk. 500. Finally, they are to be discharged immediately after their return home.

November 17th.

PRINCE MAX EXPLAINS.

Berlin telegram (via Copenhagen, November 17) says that Prince Max of Baden has issued a pamphlet in which he says:—

My peace policy was entirely upset by the proposal for an armistice, which was handed to me complete on my arrival in Berlin. I fought against it for practical political reasons. It seemed to me to be a grave mistake to allow the first step towards peace to be accompanied by such an amazing admission of Germany's weakness. Neither the enemy powers nor our own people regarded our military situation such as to make such desperate measures necessary. I proposed that the Government as a first measure should state exactly its program of war aims and demonstrate to the world our agreement with President Wilson's principles and our readiness to undergo heavy national sacrifices in order to fulfil those principles. I was told in reply that there was no time to wait for the effect of such a statement, and that the situation at the front demanded that a proposal should be made for an armistice within 24 hours, to be supported by the publication of the names of a new and unimpeachable Government. A week later the military authorities informed me that they had been mistaken in the judgment which they formed regarding the situation at the front on October 1.

Prince Max adds that he told the Emperor that it would have an important effect if he decided to abdicate of his own free will, as by so doing he would probably be able to save the country from a serious disturbances, but "other important circles" tried to convince the Emperor that his abdication would be the signal for the breaking up of the German front.—(Reuter.)

THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION.

A telegram from Berlin (via Amsterdam, November 17) gives the text of a recent speech by Dr. Landsberg, People's Commissary for Publicity, Art, and Literature, in the course of which he said:—

There is no longer an Imperial Chancellor in the Government, but only a college of six equals. Herr Ebert, by general consent, exercises the Presidency, and Herr Haase represents him. Our powers are derived from the Executive Committee of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which is the real authority. If it wanted to exercise this authority it

would be entitled to do so. It makes no use of its authority, however, but transfers it to other persons in the Government, and should, therefore, not interfere now with these persons in the discharge of their functions. There can be only one executive authority. The main defect of the present organization is the absence of centralization of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. Once they have a head it will be easy to come to an agreement between it and the Government. The Government most strongly disapproves of interference with the freedom of the Press, and of disregard of the security of private property, such as occurred in the case of the *Lokalanzeiger*, which was forced, by orders of the Executive Council, to print the *Red Flag* of the Liebknecht group.

With regard to the economic life of the country, Dr. Landsberg said:—

We are aware that we must be extremely cautious. As regards an eight-hour day, which is to come into force on January 1 next, we agree to this measure, with of course, certain necessary limitations. In the case of work on the land, for example, we must allow the modifications required by nature.—(Reuter.)

AN APPEAL FROM THE WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' COUNCILS.

According to German wireless (November 17), the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council has addressed the following appeal to the nations of France, Italy, England, and America:—

For four years the world war has separated the nations into two hostile camps. Millions of human lives have been destroyed. Objects of culture without number have been sacrificed. In all nations there lives a burning longing for peace. In Germany it was the military caste and the ruling powers which drove us into the war, and which, in their insatiable lust for conquest, would have nothing to do with peace. With iron strength the military dictator held the German nation at home in bondage. Amidst unspeakable sacrifices and persecutions they who had written the fight for peace and freedom on their banners, were made to suffer. The arrogance and lust of power of the ruling classes threatened to abandon the German nation to complete destruction. At the eleventh hour the nation asserted itself and threw the unbearable yoke from its shoulders. It was the workmen and soldiers who in a few days put an end to the accursed Hohenzollern domination and to the whole of the dynastic system of Germany. It was the workmen and soldiers who destroyed the military dictatorship and did away with the Government which bore the responsibility for the war policy of Germany. It is the workmen and soldiers who have won the freedom of Germany. It is the workmen and soldiers who urgently desired to make peace. The other nations have nothing more to fear from free Germany. Like the policy of might in domestic affairs, so will the policy of might in foreign affairs be finished forever in Germany. Never again shall German militarism lift its head. A peaceful relationship amongst all nations, economic communications salutary to all, and a union of nations built on a lasting

peace and a real freedom, are the aims of the German workmen and soldiers. The re-establishment of Germany, bleeding from out of a thousand wounds, the new organization of her economic and political life. The salvation of the nation from famine and privations and other distress, can, however, not be accomplished if intolerably severe armistice and peace conditions are imposed upon her by the Governments of the Entente.

Therefore we appeal to the sense of justice and of solidarity of the nations which have up to the present been hostile towards us, and we extend the brother-hand to them across the trenches. We beg them to use their influence with their Governments in order that the German nation may not be completely condemned to death through starvation and political impotence. Therefore we beg the nations to bring all their strength to bear in order that the coming peace may be a peace of fraternal understanding without any conquests and oppressions, a peace which will grant to every nation the right of self-determination and unrestricted development. You workmen of France, England, Italy, etc., have often promised that such a peace is your aim. Let your promises become deeds to-day. Make efforts in order that the armistice conditions which abandon Germany to economic ruin and complete death through starvation shall be ameliorated. Make efforts in order that a peace may be brought about which will make possible the construction of a new world, rich in happiness and peaceful—a peace which renders the future murdering of nations impossible. As the representatives of the Executive Council of the Workmen's and soldiers' Councils, we raise our voices and beg of you to make every effort in order that the German nation shall not be condemned by your government to slavery. We have won for ourselves freedom at home, and we want to take our place in future in the Council of Nations as co-operators with equal rights. Long live peace! Long live freedom! Long live the International Revolutionary Socialism!

Berlin, November 14, 1918.

The Executive Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council:

BRUTUS MOLKENBUHR.
RICHARD MULLER.

AN APPEAL FROM THE CENTRUM.

According to German wireless (November 17), reports from all parts of the State of Germany say that the citizens of different persuasions are striving to combine in order to present a united front in the elections for the coming Constituent Assembly. The Hansa Union having issued in many towns appeals to the Liberal citizens, which led to the foundation of committees for the preparation of the elections, the members of the Centre faction of the Reichstag at present in Berlin are issuing an appeal to all supporters of the Centre, in which they say:—

Order, freedom, and justice are ideals which do not die within forty-eight hours. They have been the ideals of humanity throughout the ages. The German nation does not tol-

erate a dictatorship; it does not submit to any kind of class domination. It determines the principles of its political being in its own right, and every German has an equal share in this self-determination. The German nation desires peace, a granite peace of right. Order alone can guarantee such a peace. Disorder brings anarchy and famine, and leads Germany to certain dissolution. You do not want that! Good! Then you must act! Close your ranks everywhere. Demand order and lawfulness, demand a National Assembly, demand participation in the affairs of the National Community such as you are entitled to, according to numbers, in the State. The National Assembly, if it is not to hold in contumely all the fundamental principles of the new order, must embrace everything that lives in the German nation in active political strength. In this assembly every persuasion must have a voice; in this assembly every idea must be able to make itself felt in so far as it is good and strong. No time must be allowed to be wasted uselessly. The elections for the National Assembly must be proclaimed immediately.

PROTEST AGAINST DISSOLUTION OF DIET.

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 17), the members of the Centre Party at present in Berlin have protested against the dissolution by the Social-Democratic Prussian Government of the Prussian Diet and against all attempts to amend the Constitution before the summoning of the Constituent Assembly.—(*Reuter.*)

A PARTY FUSION.

The executive Committee of the Progressive National Party finally approved on November 17, its combination with the National Liberal Party. According to newspaper reports, there also took place, on Saturday, negotiations for an understanding between the German Conservatives and free Conservatives for the amalgamation of the two parties. The newly formed Conservative Party will publish a programme which takes into consideration "the altered political situation," and which is to show "a national democratic character."

November 18th.

DEMANDS FOR MODERATION OF THE ARMISTICE TERMS.

German wireless (November 18) circulates the following Note:—

TO THE AMERICAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS.

In a most serious manner the conditions of the armistice menace the economic conditions on the left bank of the Rhine, and its relations with German territory on the right bank of the Rhine.

If, by way of interpretation and completion, we do not succeed in obtaining the most far-

reaching elucidations, in a mollifying sense, it is absolutely impossible, in view of the close associations of an economic nature existing between the left bank of the Rhine and the remainder of Germany, that we can continue to exist, and it is almost certain that the peaceful development which is beginning to make its way here will again be immediately overthrown. Thus, we shall inevitably advance towards more or less Bolshevik conditions, which might also become dangerous to neighboring States.

In order to obviate this, we regard as urgently necessary the alleviation of the conditions, and the determination of their practical application on the following points:—

1. A general agreement that normal intercourse on the left bank of the Rhine, and completely normal communications of an economic nature between the left bank of the Rhine and the remainder of Germany, and with foreign countries, shall not be disturbed, even during the military occupation.

2. Separate decisions on the following most important points:—

(a). Permission for the exploitation by their German owners as heretofore of the coal, potash, and ore mines on the left bank of the Rhine within the old territory of the Empire.

(b). Permission for the transport of the requisite coal, ore, and potash up and down the Rhine, and across the Rhine, to that part of Germany situated on the right bank of the river.

(c). A general free use of the Rhine for transports within the old boundary of the German Empire.

(d). Permission for free navigation via Rotterdam and the coast for the provisioning of Germany via the North and Baltic Sea coasts with coal, potash, food supplies, etc.

(e). The continuation of industrial pursuits on the left bank of the Rhine for the use of the remainder of Germany.

(f). Free railway traffic in the occupied territory.

(g). The furnishing of electric power from the left to the right bank of the Rhine.

(h). Discharged men liable for military service on the left bank of the Rhine are not to be made prisoners of war, even if in uniform.

(i). Civil and military organizations of all descriptions on the left bank of the Rhine shall be allowed to continue work.

(k). Goods of all kinds in the occupied territory shall only be requisitioned in so far as is unavoidably necessary for the maintenance of the troops of occupation.

(l). Telephonic, telegraphic, and postal traffic of the occupied territory with the right bank of the Rhine, and to neutral countries abroad, shall be free.

(m). Permission to bring food supplies and fodder of all kinds from the left to the right bank of the Rhine.

(n). The old frontier of the Empire, including Luxemburg, which belongs to the German Customs Union, shall be regarded as the customs boundary, as decisions of a

judicial nature will only be possible under the peace treaty. The customs dues are therefore to be levied by the German customs officials on behalf of the Empire. Further, the German prohibitions regarding export, transit, and import are to be dealt with on that boundary by the German officials, according to German provisions.

Furthermore, we must point out in the most emphatic manner that the delivery up of 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 wagons, having regard to the present condition of our rolling-stock, makes it impossible for us to ensure for the towns even the most restricted supply of food supplies, coal, etc. We should find ourselves in such a position that we should not be able to guarantee a supply even for a week, and as the conditions in the East and West, North and South are identical, we are forced to the conclusion that at all points of the Empire hunger would supervene, owing to the difficulties of transport, the consequences of which would be incalculable.

Finally the continuation of the blockade, especially in the East, has had as a consequence that the means of transport from the North for our industries, as also of the indispensable German coals for Scandinavia, and the iron transport from the North, would no longer be possible, and the German and Scandinavian industries dependent thereon would be restricted in their work, if not actually brought to a standstill. Still more important, however, is the complete paralization of the North and Baltic Sea fisheries by the continuation of the blockade.

We have instructed our representatives at Spa to discuss with the representatives of the Allied Governments the above-mentioned urgent desires, but they have met with no success, as the representatives of the Allies had not full powers to conduct negotiations regarding them.

(Signed) SOLF,
Secretary of State of the Foreign Office.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEW REGIME.

According to German wireless (November 18), a leading article in *Vorwärts* entitled "The Decision of the People," discusses the preparations for a Constituent National Assembly, and says that on November 9, on the day of the revolution, a manifesto was signed by Ebert, Scheidemann, and Landsberg as the first fundamental document of the German Revolution.

In this it was announced that the new Government would organize elections for a Constituent National Assembly, in which elections all citizens of both sexes over 20 years of age could take part with completely equal rights. The Government will then give up its authority into the hands of the new representatives of the people. On the same day negotiations will be taken up with the Independent Social Democrats concerning their entrance into the Government. The question here will be essentially in reference to the part which the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, on the one hand, and the Constituent Assembly, on the other hand, will have to play in building up the nation. An agreement was come to which provided at first

for convoking a Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, and then a Constituent Assembly. A national Government formed by both branches of the Socialist Party then announced in their programme of November 12, the election of a Constituent Assembly and a new election for all public offices, based on universal popular suffrage. On the next day the Prussian Government declared that a Constitutional Assembly would decide concerning future State Institution in Prussia, its relations to the nation, to the other German States, and to foreign countries. Election to this Assembly will take place on the basis of universal suffrage for all men and women according to proportional representation.

Already, before this, all the South German States had declared in favor of a Constituent Assembly. German-Austria announced its entrance into this Assembly for January next. The Independent Socialist, Eisner, proclaimed, on the part of Bavaria, the calling of a Constituent National Assembly immediately after taking over authority. Also the new newspaper of the new Independents, *Die Freiheit*, declares that there can be no question concerning ambiguity with respect to the demand for a National Assembly. The question only is concerning the time of calling this together. *Vorwärts* says on this point that this date must be fixed as early as possible because the bourgeois parties would make use of a delay for their own purposes. Bourgeois unions represent the danger for those who strive to socialize society by way of legislation and administration. At the head of the Republican Party now being formed stand, indeed, just now, men who are ready to go part of the way with Socialists. They will have a hard stand however, against representatives of pure capitalist interest who will, wholesale, seek protection under their wings. Both Social-Democratic Parties must, therefore, take in hand energetically the question of a Constituent National Assembly, which might also be called a General People's Council.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

A German wireless message (November 18) states that the People's Commissioner of the German Republic, Haase, has thanked the leader of the German-Austrian Foreign Office, Bauer, for his congratulations and declared:—

The Council of the People's Commissioners is very glad to discuss with you all questions of peace negotiations and to conduct these negotiations in closest friendship with you. We await for this purpose representatives of German-Austria in Berlin.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL AND THE REICHSTAG

According to German wireless (November 18), the Cabinet declared to the Reichstag President, Fehrenbach:—

In consequence of the political revolution which has done away with the institutions of Imperialism, as also with the Federal Council

in its character as a legislative body, the Reichstag elected in 1912, can no more meet.

THE NEW HOME SECRETARY

According to German wireless (November 18), the Council of National Commissioners has appointed the political scientist, Professor Preuss, as State Secretary for the Home Office.

THE CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY

German wireless (November 18) reports:—

The council of National Commissioners meets the attempt at the disquieting of industrial life with an energetic declaration according to which the State Government does not intend to undertake the seizure of banks or deposits at the Savings Banks, or of any stocks of money in bank notes or other papers of value. The Government furthermore does not intend to interfere in any way with subscription to the Ninth War Loan or other war loans as to their legal validity. On the other hand, the Government intends to draw upon large incomes and great possessions as much as possible in order to cover its expenditure. Allowances, pensions and other legal claims of officials and employees, officers and soldiers, men mutilated in the war and those they left behind, will remain in force without any modification.

MILITARY REORGANIZATION

According to an Amsterdam wire (November 18), a Berlin telegram to the *Kölnische Zeitung* states that the reorganization of the military authority has been decreed by the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council to the effect that the deputy-general commanders, the General Staff, and the Supreme Army Command are to be subordinated to the War Ministry in order to facilitate demobilization. The War Ministry is placed under the direct orders of the Executive Committee.—(Reuter.)

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION

The German Farmers' Association has issued a proclamation to the German peasants, in which it exhorts them to support the present Government until the summoning of the National Convention, in order to carry out demobilization. It demands the convocation of the National Convention under the guidance of the Government, together with the Reichstag, for the establishment of Farmers' Councils, and the summons of a congress of Farmers' Councils, which, until the meeting of the National Convention, will take care of the agricultural population's interests, on full equality of rights with the Workmen and Soldiers' and Citizens' Councils. The proclamation demands further full personal liberty and security for private property and inheritances, and the maintenance of all obligations of the Empire towards the people, especially the War Loan, and the repeal of all land prerogatives.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

According to German wireless (November 18), the leading members of the main unions of the fractions in the Majority Party of the former Reichstag have formed a Committee for the preparation of a program for the Constitutional Assembly elections, and for the creation of the foundations for a great German Democratic Party. The first principle laid down says that the party bases itself on the foundation of a Republican State and against any reactions, but demands that a National Assembly, elected under all the necessary guarantees, shall take a decision regarding the Constitution. The second principle says that freedom cannot be separated from order, lawfulness, and political equal rights of all State subjects, and that the Democratic Party combats any kind of Bolshevik, reactionary or other terrorism. The programmatic announcement, which has been signed by the leading politicians of all the Liberal Parties, concludes:—

We know that to-day only bold measures can help us, and that from all property owners great sacrifices will have to be demanded if a happier future is to arise from out of the ruins. The times demand the formation of a new social and economic policy. It demands for the mono-politically developed economic regions the adoption of the idea of socialization, the splitting up of the State domains, and that steps shall be taken for the restriction of the possession of large properties in order that the peasant classes may be strengthened and increased in numbers. It will be necessary to confiscate war profits to a great extent; to have a progressive tax on property, to be paid once only, and other far-reaching taxation measures; the legal guaranteeing of the rights of workmen, employees and officials; the assuring of the claims of those who took part in the war, their widows and orphans; the support of the independent middle-class; opportunities to advance for capable persons; and the carrying out internationally of a social political minimum program. We reject lifeless, killing doctrines and are convinced that only if the German economic policy be maintained can all classes, workmen as well as citizens and peasants, again lift themselves up. Many other reforms will have to be accomplished by boldly passing over the ideas of yesterday, which have now become soulless, in order to assure the new construction of the State, and in order to endow it with a clear and true spirit. Reforms can, and ought, only to be created by the Constituent Assembly elected by the whole of the German nation, and not by despotism and dictation. We demand for the preparation of the Constituent Assembly the combining of all those who offer a guarantee that they are in sympathy with us through equality of principles. We call upon all the men and women of Germany for their co-operation in the great tasks of the future, for the safety of the new freedom, and for the defence against any reaction and any terrorist acts of violence.

November 19th.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

According to German wireless (November 19), the German Government has given the Soviet Government to understand that it is not desirable for the latter to be represented in Berlin for the present.

ORIGIN AND AIM OF THE REVOLUTION.

German wireless (November 19) reports that the Social Democrat and trade union leader Ebert, who, together with the Independent Social Democrat Haase, presides over the Council of the People's Commissaries, received the editor of the Trans-Ocean News Service and made the following statements to him concerning the origin and aim of the German revolution:—

In order to understand the origin of the German revolution it is only necessary to realize the situation at the beginning of November. The German people wanted peace. This desire was caused by our military, political, and above all our economic position, which had led to unbearable conditions in the supplying of food. All the voices which were raised in Germany against the conclusion of peace emanated from a handful of thoughtless people who would simply have been disregarded under circumstances which were really democratic. But it was to be feared that, in spite of the unanimity of our whole people, these elements might plunge the people into fresh and even more ghastly misery by means of influences which could not be controlled. And the circles of people who, under certain circumstances, would have tried to convert this madness into reality were the same to whom we owe our political and military collapse, those who bear the guilt for the horrible under-feeding of the German people, and to whom, therefore, no one would entrust the solution of the tremendous problems of the demobilization and the restoration of a normal food supply for the people. Everyone has lost all confidence in them. They had forfeited the right to existence. This conviction was so general that the revolution broke out in all parts almost simultaneously.

Primarily, it was the army which refused to be sent to a useless death for the plans of persons who were incapable of moral responsibility. Soldiers' Councils which were more or less independent of each other were formed amongst the separate formations of troops. In many cases a great number of officers joined them immediately and in all cases practically all the non-commissioned officers joined them. The authorities everywhere at once declared that they were ready to co-operate with these organizations and with the Workmen's Delegations which were formed at the same time, and in Berlin these Soldiers' Delegations, when they reached the Reichstag, one by one, already found the first beginnings of a Provisional Government. With the collapse of the old decayed system, which crumbled like a worm-eaten building, the pressing necessity arose of forming a new governing power at once which should be a unity for the disconnected bodies and authorities which had

arisen spontaneously everywhere, and which should commence its labors without losing an instant, and which could provide for the maintenance of order. At the outset, it was clear that the two Socialist Parties, which had prepared the way for the revolution, and, indeed, had first made it possible, must be represented in this Provisional Government. The Majority Socialists, who still belonged to the Cabinet up to November 8, took the initiative, but they insisted, however, that representatives of the non-Socialist parties should also be members of the Provisional Government of the People's Representatives. The Independent Social Democrats insisted on the opposite standpoint. Since, however, it was necessary to act quickly, they speedily arrived at an understanding. The political administration is in the hands of the Socialists; the bourgeois parties of the former Majorities are associated with the Departmental Ministers; the old Socialist Party, which was temporarily split up, is again united; and both groups are striving to further the common work. In this way the continuance of a firm Provisional Government, which is capable of action, is assured.

In reply to the question, "What are the tasks of this Provisional Government?" Herr Ebert answered:—

They appear, in the main, from what I have said concerning the origin of the revolution. Our most important task is to give the German people peace and bread. In order to be in a position to do this, however, we need order and freedom. Our first endeavors, on this account are directed to the restoration of orderly productive conditions, in order to assure the people's food-supply. In this matter we have first and foremost one enemy to encounter: the attempts of individuals to overturn the new order of things by means of armed *coups-d-main*. But for this, order in the streets would not have been disturbed in any way, and all the police measures which we have been obliged to take would have been superfluous. In addition to this, there was the further task of bringing about united co-operation within the ranks of the revolution in order to assure the organization of the people's food supply, and the uninterrupted course of economic life. What this means you will have noticed on your way through the halls of the Imperial Chancery. Transport of food must be assured, coal must be obtained, soldiers who are passing through or on leave must be cared for, new officials must be found or former officials incorporated.

In short, it is a question of bringing the chaos which has suddenly arisen into clearly arranged co-ordination. If we have been successful in this, it is due on the one side to the wonderful discipline which has been maintained by the revolutionaries nearly everywhere. Surely never in the history of the world have such revolutions been bought at the price of so little bloodshed and so little destruction! On the other hand, we must acknowledge that all officials at once declared themselves ready to co-operate with the Provisional Government. You will have noticed

that, for instance, the former Minister for War, Scheuch, is officiating, together with the plenipotentiaries of the Provisional Government, and that even the Berlin police—formerly the Royal Police Corps of the Capital Residence—have placed themselves at our disposal. For these reasons it has been possible for us to check excesses on the part of individuals at once—in the few case where they occurred. There has been plundering. I admit it, with deep sorrow. But I can add, immediately, that it was only a question of exceptional cases, the number of which has been quite infinitesimal, and they were immediately punished. The criminals are in safe custody, and are awaiting legal trial. In the same way, a speedy remedy was found for the isolated encroachments carried out by isolated groups who had taken possession of transport means or of news sources, as, for instance, the newspapers. These well-meant but false conceptions of isolated revolutionaries were short-lived. The Provisional Government on its part, has raised the censorship and restored the freedom of the press, and as matters stand at the present time, I believe, that without exaggerated optimism, I may state that the German revolution will give a brilliant example to the world as to how a nation which is ready for the exercise of all its rights and freedom can calmly take possession of its fate and govern itself through the will of the people for the good of the people as a real free People's State.

REPORTED FUSIONS

Reports from Berlin, via Copenhagen (November 19), state that the Progressive People's Party has united with the National Liberal Party, and that the German Conservative and Free Conservative Parties have also united.—(*Reuter*.)

THE NEW ELECTORAL BILL

According to German wireless (November 19), details regarding the new electoral law are published in the *Forwards* of November 18:—

The bill provides electoral districts with 150,000 inhabitants. For the whole of the State territories proportionate election has been introduced, in a form similar to that decided upon by the former Reichstag, for certain large towns. Accordingly, in the future, bye-elections will no longer take place; in case of the withdrawal of a member the next on the list moves into his place. The already mentioned date for the opening of the elector-lists, January 2, 1919, and that for the elections, February 2, are confirmed. With regard to the subsequent inclusions of military people who return in January, a special arrangement will be made. The method of voting remains the same as in the case of the Reichstag elections, with the difference that this time men from twenty to twenty-five and women over twenty are to co-operate. In case German-Austria should wish to form part of the German Republic, its representatives shall be permitted to enter the National Assembly in accordance with the general rules.

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY'S APPEAL.

An Amsterdam message gives the text of Prince Lichnowsky's appeal published by *Forwards*:

To the British Nation:—

I address myself to my many personal friends, in the first place to Lord Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Mr. Asquith, and I ask them to throw their far-reaching influence and high personal esteem, which raise them above all party distinctions, into the scale on behalf of the high ideals of humanity and justice which have characterized their political past. The aims for which Great Britain entered the war, namely, the protection of Belgium and France, and finally the conversion of Germany into a State constituted on a democratic basis, having been attained, I cannot believe that the lust for revenge and the desire to strangle the German people prevail to the exclusion of all other sentiments which, before the war, dominated the British nation, and of which, on so many occasions, I have been a witness. The armistice conditions imposed on us are, however, inspired by a spirit which cannot be characterized otherwise than as one of revenge, because their strict execution would unfailingly lead to misery, starvation, anarchy, and chaos.

No Government authority would be able to ward off the results of such a stipulation and protect all Europe and the entire civilized world from the infectious danger of tendencies hostile to order, and avert the spread of Russian terrorism, which is the greatest and most dangerous enemy of democracy and of freedom, to all the other members of the community of nations. In their own interests, therefore, those who have hitherto been our enemies, and at their head the great British nation, must recognize that they should help us to maintain order, and not remove from the great German people, the overwhelming majority of whom did not desire the war and now cherish a work as an active member of the great family of nations, the foundations requisite for the reconstruction after such an unexampled catastrophe and for the establishment of a new peaceful and democratic State. Need I point out that a peace of violence with the cruel exploitation of our present situation, would endanger the ideal of a League of Nations and the future peace of the world, and that a peace with conditions, which would mean our financial and economic ruin, the disintegration of the Fatherland, and the severance of regions which geographically and economically are indispensable and German order, would involve the destruction of the labor of many generations and the abandonment of the unity of the compact German populations? I do not appeal to pity, but to perspicacity, and I hope that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears.—(*Reuter*.)

SCHEIDEMANN'S POLICY.

According to German wireless (November 19), the member of the National Government, Philipp Scheidemann, publishes an exhaustive article in the *Forwards* regarding the elec-

tions for the National Assembly. Scheidemann denies that the National Assembly might bring a backward revision of the achievements of the revolution. That which has shown itself to be mouldered and untenable in the face of an assault of only a few hours, can never be re-erected again. The sensible elements of the bourgeoisie therefore have, with an overwhelming majority adopted the principles of the newly created state of affairs. Scheidemann continues:—

One especially makes a mistake in assuming that the National Assembly for the greater part has the task of putting a sort of official seal to the new conditions. Revolutions carry their right and their necessity within them, and do not need first to be legalized. But the National Assembly will have the other and not less important task of constructing, shaping, and safeguarding the house within the transformed fundamental plans. It must make the new German Republic capable of entering into negotiations with foreign countries.

Scheidemann recalls that the final peace of the Entente will only be concluded with a consolidated Germany. The National Assembly, therefore, first of all will have the task of assuring the will of the nation and of giving expression to it in permanent conditions. After that it will be its task to silence the many voices of those who do not see anything final in to-day's form of Government of Germany and who raise demands of democracy for a decision by means of the will of the majority. Scheidemann utters a warning against underestimating this demand, which seriously dominates the democratic people far into the working-classes.

November 20th

ALSACE-LORRAINE

According to German wireless (November 20), the Berlin State Administration has sent the following telegram to the Strassburg Soldiers' Council:—

The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by the Entente does not prejudice the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question in accordance with the international principles of the right of self-determination of the nations.—*Ebert. Haase.*

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REICHSTAG

A telegram from Berlin to the *Berlingske Tidende* (via Copenhagen, November 20), states that the President of the Reichstag, Herr Fehrenbach, who has returned to Berlin, after a conference with the Party leaders and the Chancellor, Herr Ebert, has sent the Government a formal protest against the supposition that the Reichstag cannot legally meet after the abolition of the Empire. He reserves, he says, his right to summon the Reichstag if he considers it necessary to do so. The Government's decrees abolishing the Federal Council and the Reichstag are annulled. The logical deduction to be drawn, Fehrenbach concludes, is that the Government admits the Reichstag's right to further continuance.—(*Reuter*.)

THE GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL PROGRAMME.

German wireless (November 20), reports that the Secretary of State for the Treasury has outlined, in an interview, the financial programme of the new Government. He said that all promises made to owners of war loans will be kept without exception. As to quotations of war loans on the Stock Exchange, a syndicate has been formed by the Reichsbank and other banking concerns for buying material offered for sale. Further, war loan bonds will be accepted in payment of several taxes and for the purchase of raw materials now in the hands of the Army. The Government will use all means against all evasion of taxation. The law which prevents the foreign investment of money and stocks is only a beginning and will be followed by corresponding measures for the interior. Any person who defrauds in the matter of taxes is to be considered as guilty of high treason. As to special war profits, they are to remain the object of the most stringent legislation. The general plan of the financial policy, however, can only be completed after the final decision about the forms of the new political life in which the people will have to co-operate in a far reaching manner.

THE ELECTIONS.

German wireless states:

According to an official declaration, the reports, published on November 17, according to which elections for the German National Assembly are to take place on February 2, and the lists of electors are to be open for public inspection on January 2, are incorrect. The Bill for the electoral system for the Constituent Assembly has not yet been laid before the Council of Commissioners of the People for decision. That preparations for the Constituent Assembly shall be begun as soon as possible has been repeatedly declared by the government.

According to newspaper reports, preparatory work for the National Assembly proves to be quite considerable. The number of persons entitled to vote is estimated at 40,000,000, while at the last elections for the Reichstag the number was only 14,000,000. For this reason the compilation of a list of electors will require an enormous amount of work. The government works with all its forces for the accomplishment of this task.

THE NAVY.

According to German wireless, the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of the Navy passed the following resolution, in a committee session, on November 18:

The Main Committee of the Navy is formed from the leading Soldiers' Council of the Baltic Sea stations, of the North Sea stations, and of the Lower Elbe, and with its seat in Wilhelmshaven is making military arrangements for the whole of the Navy. A delegation of the Main Committee is meeting in Berlin and controlling the State Ministry of Marine and the Admiralty staff, and is electing five comrades for a Central Naval Council,

who must have been experienced Socialists even before the war. Orders of the State Ministry of Marine and of the Admiralty Staff are to be signed by a member of the Central Council as well as by the Under Secretary of State.

THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS.

According to German wireless, the Young Democratic Committee held a meeting, in which the former direction of German politics was objected to because it proceeded from a very small group, the authority of which was based on nothing more than its own will and violence. It was declared that the result of this kind of government has been the present collapse. A protest was made against the former policy of violence, which supported itself on might, and under-estimated when it came to the test the force of the enemy, which likewise occasioned the march into Belgium and the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare. It was also declared that the idea of justice has been violated repeatedly by Germany, and that Germany must no longer refuse, as was the case at The Hague, to treat concerning the limitations of armament and the question of an Arbitration Tribunal. The full sovereignty of the whole people was demanded, and it was taken that this must come in a German Republican People's State created by the revolution on the basis of complete equality of rights of all citizens without difference of sex, of occupation, or of belief by the election of a National Assembly.

THE GERMAN CASUALTIES.

The German wireless states:

According to reliable estimates, the total losses of Germany, in killed, in the world-war, up to October 31, 1918, is estimated at 1,580,000. The number of missing is announced as 260,000, of whom a great number are probably no longer among the living. The number of German prisoners in the hands of the enemy amounts to 490,000. The number of soldiers who have been wounded is 4,000,000, but, however, in cases where a soldier has been wounded several times it has been counted over again.

November 21st.

A CONFERENCE OF FEDERAL STATES.

A Berlin telegram (via Copenhagen) states that the Government of the Empire has telegraphed inviting the Governments of the different German Free States to a conference which is to take place on Monday, November 25, in the Assembly Hall of the Chancellor's house. The conference is to discuss the political situation and the measures which the Government of the Empire has taken to obtain an understanding regarding the future co-operation between the federal administration and the Governments of the Free States. —(Reuter.)

THE GERMAN FEDERAL COUNCIL.

An Amsterdam wire states that according to the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* a decree signed by Herr Ebert and Herr Haase and the Secretary of State for the Interior, Herr Lewald, is published in the State Gazette under date November 14, empowering the Federal Council to continue to exercise the powers appertaining to it under the laws and ordinances of the Empire.—(*Reuter*, November 21.)

A COMMITTEE OF FIVE.

According to German wireless, the Soldiers' Councils of the Berlin troops have been convened for Thursday, November 21, to sit in the Reichstag for the purpose of electing a leadership or committee, composed of five members, which shall be the connecting link between the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council and the Soldiers' Councils of the Greater Berlin groups.

FURTHER APPEAL FROM THE GERMAN WOMEN.

German wireless circulates the following appeal:

Hear us, women of all lands! Delivered from the terrible burden of the war, delivered from the yoke of a reactionary Prussian nation, we welcome jubilantly the great German revolution. However, already some calamitous clouds appear on the horizon and threaten to destroy everything. The armistice conditions which your victorious Governments have concluded with the Imperial Germany are hard and heavy. Imperial Germany is no more, and bearing in mind the completely altered circumstances, the armistice conditions have been ameliorated. It would be terrible and unworthy of any nation which has taken as its aim the victory of the mind over brutal might, to want to punish the innocent victims of an infamous system. It rests with you women to rise, each in her own place, and to fling the torch of indignation against that Power which wants to try to make the war last beyond the war, to delay the victory of the fraternization of humanity and to prevent a truly just peace. Do not tolerate that the spirit of militarism which has brought such terrible disaster upon us shall bind your victorious armies. Let goodness and humaneness be the standard for all things and preach only one hatred, the hatred against war. Do not make accomplices of yourselves. Help to construct a new world. The banner of freedom which is fluttering over the world, let it be the banner of the fraternization of humanity. In this sense, sisters, we call upon you.

The Women of the New Fatherland.

November 22nd.

NEW APPOINTMENTS.

German wireless reports:

The People's Commissioner, Landsberg, gave the press department to Herr Scheidemann, and took over the post from him of Minister of Finance.

The author, Ulrich Rauschor, has been appointed Chief of the Press by the Imperial Chancellor.

The Commission for the preparation of the work of associating the regions of production consists of: Professor Ballod, Professor Ernst Francke, Walter Rathenau, University Professor Dr. Lederer, Dr. Vogelstein, Dr. Rudolf Hilferding, Karl Kautsky, Heinrich Cunow, and Otto Hue.

A PROCLAMATION OF WELCOME TO SOLDIERS.

A Berlin telegram via Amsterdam (November 22) states that the Council of People's Commissioners welcomes the returning troops with a proclamation which says:

You marched into the field for the Fatherland, where you had nothing to say and where a handful of autocrats had the power in their hands and distributed the booty among themselves. You had to be silent, and to fight, while hundreds of thousands at your side had to die. To-day you return to your country, where in the future nobody but the people themselves will have anything to say. Germany is free. Our Socialist Republic will join the League of Nations as the freest among men. You will find not only all the political rights of which you have hitherto been deprived, but the Fatherland shall also be your property and heritage economically.

The proclamation promises an eight-hour day, points out the prevailing scarcity of foodstuffs, and concludes:

United labor and action in a Germany possessing a Government relying on the workers and soldiers can alone help us and can alone obtain from our former enemies that for which you have been fighting and longing for the last four years, namely, peace.

The proclamation is signed by Ebert, Haase, Scheidemann, Dittman, Landsberg, and Barth.—(*Reuter*.)

A NEW GERMAN PARTY.

A Berlin telegram via Amsterdam states that the members of the Centre Party of the Reichstag and of the Prussian Landtag, leading Rheinisch-Westphalian members of the Centre Party, and the Catholic Pressmen's Organization, have issued an appeal for the formation of a Christian Democratic People's Party, the guiding lines of which would be, *inter alia*, the immediate conclusion of a preliminary peace, the speedy conclusion of a world peace of understanding, the regulation of relations between the peoples on the principle of eternal justice, the creation of an International League, general disarmament, the protection of national minorities in all States, the re-organization of the Diplomatic Service, the complete independence of the Holy See, and the speedy convocation of a National Assembly.—(*Reuter*.)

THE FREE NATIONAL PARTY

According to German wireless (November 22), a strong group of former members of the Centre Party has come forward with an

appeal in which the party expresses the desire to take into consideration the newly created conditions. The appeal again expresses opposition, on principle, against Social Democracy, but politically adopts the basis of the newly created conditions. Outwardly, the new leaning of the party shall be expressed in its name, since the Central Party receives the additional appellation, "Free German National Party."

THE RESIDUE OF NATIONAL-LIBERALS.

The remainder of the former National-Liberal Party, which did not want the combination with the Progressive National Party and a union with the German Democratic Party, issues a declaration, signed by the well-known politicians Friedberg, Stresemann, and Vogel, justifying their attitude and promising a new programme for the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

(German Wireless, November 22)

November 23rd.

THE AGREEMENT.

It is officially announced from Berlin via Copenhagen (November 23) that the Workmen's Council and the Government have come to the following agreement:

(1) All political power is to be in the hands of the German Socialist Republic and the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

(2) Their aim is to defend and develop what has been achieved by the revolution and to suppress all counter-revolutionary activities.

(3) Until such time as the representatives of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils have been elected to an Executive Council of the German Republic, the Executive Council in Berlin is to exercise its functions. (This proviso means the transferring of the Executive authority of the Republic to the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.)

(4) The appointment and dismissal of all members of the different legislative bodies of the Republic, and, until a final Constitution has been established, of Prussia also, are to be made by the Central Executive Council, which will also have the right of control.

(5) Before Assistant Ministers are appointed by the Cabinet, the Executive Council is to be consulted.

(6) As soon as possible, a Convention of Deputies drawn from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council is to be summoned.—(*Reuter.*)

A NEW PROTEST FROM THE GERMAN ARMISTICE COMMITTEE.

German wireless (November 23) states that General von Winterfeld yesterday received from Marshal Foch the reply to the series of proposed alleviations of the armistice conditions put forward on the German side at the instance of Major-General von Winterfeld on November 18. The reply was that with regard to the military demands of the armistice no steps could be taken to reconsider them.

General von Winterfeld, in accord with the Chief of the Armistice Commission, Secretary of State Erzberger, issued the following protest:

The alleviation of the armistice conditions which were alluded to by the German Armistice Commission in its note of November 18, based on a detailed statement, have been flatly refused by Marshal Foch. The conditions, such as have never before been known to be imposed in history, therefore still remain in force. A modern army of over 3,000,000 men, with its complicated technical apparatus, is to make forced marches at this unfavorable time of the year, often over bad and mountainous roads across the defiles of the Rhine in complete order; the civil population of the regions through which these army columns are to march are to be protected from every molestation. At the same time, there are to be taken away from the army powerful means of transport and an immense amount of war material and many thousands of prisoners of the most varied nationalities, and these are to be handed over according to order and in perfect condition. One must appeal to the impartial opinion of every experienced officer of the troops or to the General Staff to decide whether such an achievement be within the realm of possibility. The history of the war will later on give a very plain answer in this connection. After an alleviation of the practically impossible conditions has been refused, in spite of the military and political conditions which led to the drawing up of such conditions, which have totally changed since the signature of the armistice, it can only be assumed that it is the intention of the High Command of the Allies, while the armistice is still in force, to completely dissolve and destroy an army which, during fifty months, has gloriously made a stand against a superiority, and whose front at the cessation of hostilities was not broken through. Thousands of brave men who have fought in fulfilment of their duty to the Fatherland will, as a result of the forced marches imposed, remain lying, on the road as victims of exhaustion or shortly before reaching their country, will fall into captivity.

The question must naturally arise whether such a result corresponds with the spirit of an armistice, which should really have for its object the bringing about of a cessation of hostilities and of paving a way to a peace of reconciliation and justice, or whether the imposition of such impossible conditions represents the useless continuation of hostilities in an especially bitter and inhuman form, and also whether through the pitiless execution of the hard armistice conditions the German people and their women and children are to be threatened by anarchy and hunger, as has been repeatedly and emphatically pointed out. These conceptions, which correspond to the dictates of humanity, appear to have met with no consideration. Under such circumstances there remains nothing left for the German Armistice Commission but once more to declare emphatically that Germany, now and in the future, will do all that is humanly possible to fulfil the armistice agreement, but that for an orderly and punctual carrying out of the imposed conditions

it can give no guarantee, and that the responsibility for all ultimate consequences, which will finally have their reaction throughout the whole of Western Europe, is solemnly and before all the world declined.

HINDENBURG AND THE ARMISTICE COMMITTEE.

According to a Copenhagen message (November 23), the Wolff Bureau states that Marshal von Hindenburg sent the following telegram from his headquarters at the Castle of Wilhelmshohe to the new German Government in Berlin:—

"The Armistice Committee states that the enemy members of the committee, especially the French, are adopting a less courteous attitude, and are continually demanding impossibilities, and that it is not improbable that the French are anxious to find a pretext for a resumption of hostilities. I must, therefore, strongly emphasize that the German Army, by reason of the hard terms of the armistice and influenced also by events at home, is no longer in a position to resume the fight. Even a fight against the French Army alone would be impossible. I consider it also my duty to draw attention to the fact, because it is evident from articles which have appeared in the enemy press, that the enemy governments are only prepared to conclude peace with a German Government, which is supported by a majority of the people."—(*Reuter.*)

HERR EBERT AND A GERMAN UNITED DEMOCRACY.

A Berlin telegram via Copenhagen (November 23) states that in answer to a telegram from the Hessian Minister of State, Herr Ullrich, Herr Ebert, on behalf of the German Government, says that the invitation issued to the different free states to join in a conference in Berlin shows that the government desires close co-operation with them. He adds:

The government finds in a National Assembly the best means of attaining this end. It is not aiming at the establishment of a Berlin or a Prussian dictatorship, but is only striving for a united democracy and for Germany's unity.—(*Reuter.*)

November 24th.

THE ENTENTE AND THE RHINE PROVINCES.

According to a German wireless message (November 24) the German Armistice Commission has presented to enemy representatives a detailed explanation that for the maintenance of the economic situation in the Luxemburgian, Lorrainian and in the Saar regions an extension of the period for their evacuation by fifteen days is necessary. The following Note has been addressed to the enemy governments:—

"According to supplement No. 1 of Armistice Agreement, Belgium, France, Luxemburg and Alsace-Lorraine are to be evacuated in three stages (Etappen) within a period of fifteen days. The three stages are marked upon a map. The third stage runs along the map west of Prüm between Meheg and Saargemund and

includes Saarluis and Saarbrücken and the Rhenish territory. It does not appear out of the question that this has been so made in order that this territory shall be added to Alsace-Lorraine or to Luxemburg. The protest of the members of the German Commission has been disregarded. The German Government solemnly protests against any attempt to wrest away these territories.

(Signed) DR. SOLF.

"The Secretary of State of the Foreign Office."

THE GENERAL AMNESTY.

A telegram from Berlin (via Copenhagen, November 24) states that the Minister of Justice has issued an official notice providing for an amnesty for all political punishable acts. With regard to punishable acts of a non-political character a notice of an amnesty for minor crimes may also be expected.—(*Reuter.*)

THE NEW GERMAN WIRELESS

German Wireless (November 24) circulates the following:—

TO ALL:—

The Imperial Government has created a Central Wireless Administration which shall control the whole wireless system of Germany in the interests of the people. Further particulars will follow by letter. The headquarters is at Berlin, W. Prinz, Albrechtstrasse 5. The Central Wireless Station for the German radio system is temporarily (gap) . . .

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.

November 25th.

According to German wireless (November 25) the State Secretary of the Foreign Office, Dr. Solf, has addressed to enemy governments the following note:—

The German people, relying upon the fundamental principles of a peace of justice announced by the President of the United States, addressed themselves to President Wilson for bringing about an armistice. In place of the expected fundamental principles of right and justice, and of a wish for the future reconciliation of the nations by which the armistice should be ruled, one of violence and destruction has been prepared for us. The provisions of this armistice mean in their carrying through not peace, but the continuation of war by other methods. The demands of the armistice will not bring the desired peace to the world; they will make the restoration of peaceable order in Germany, and regulated demobilization, impossible; they will give up the severely tried country to chaos and anarchy.

Our solemn protests against a procedure which mocks humanity have remained unheard. If the hardness of the armistice conditions have been based on the necessity to make impossible the taking up again of hostilities by Germany, yet, in the meantime, it has become clear to our enemies that this reason is no longer valid, for the German people do not desire again to begin hostilities, nor can they do so.

The German Government sees in this maintenance of severe conditions an attack against

the principles of civilization, and must draw the conclusion that the Governments of the Allied countries have no other consideration than the subjection and destruction of the German people!

Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice negotiations, the German Government again applied to the President of the United States with the request that he would, as soon as possible, introduce negotiations for preliminary peace. Until today the German Government is without information as to when, at last, the Governments of the Allied countries will begin the work for peace. The German people begin to believe that behind this delay of peace the enemy conceals his intention of placing excited and wearied German troops in the wrong by their not fulfilling impossible armistice conditions, and by this to create for the Entente an excuse for the continuation of the war.

If peace is to be concluded as a peace of justice, the decisions of the Peace Conference on questions legally contestable must not be anticipated. The German Government must state, in reference to this principle laid down by the President, that the measures taken by the French Government in Alsace-Lorraine, as well as the procedure of the Poles in the eastern frontier districts of Germany, and the separate measures of the non-German parts of former Austria-Hungary, against the Germans, are nothing but attempts to anticipate with violence the decisions of the Peace Conference. The German Government protests in the sharpest manner possible against all these attempts, as well as against the delay in the conclusion of peace. From the frame of mind shown by such actions no permanent peace can originate. The German people can, for a time, be crushed, but it will not cease to live, and to demand its rights.

THE ARMISTICE.

According to German wireless (November 26), it is reported from Spa that on November 25 the Chairman of the German Armistice Commission handed to the Chairman of the International Armistice Commission the following document:—

"First, in accordance with Article 34 of the Armistice Treaty, an International Armistice Commission was appointed in order to assure the best possible carrying-out of the armistice agreement. Germany was therefore entitled to assume that all the points contained in the armistice conditions would be discussed here, and from the very first has repeatedly asked for the sending by the Allies and the United States of all representatives concerned.

"Secondly, on November 28, written requests for the amelioration of the armistice conditions at sea were handed in. To these the reply was given on the same day that these requests had been forwarded to the parties concerned. On November 20, I announced that Admiral Beatty had declared to Admiral Meuren that he was not qualified to deal with questions regarding commercial shipping, and requested . . ."
(rest missing)

PRINCE MAX REPLIES TO AN APPEAL.

German wireless (November 25) states that Prince Max of Baden has received through the

intermediary of the Geneva Red Cross the request of the English Red Cross to bring about better treatment for, and immediate sending home of, English prisoners of war. Prince Max has replied:—

"I shall make known the wish of the English Red Cross to the proper authorities in accordance with the attitude which I have taken up on the question of prisoners since the beginning of the war. I consider it my imperative duty, however, to state candidly that the armistice conditions are characterized by a spirit of implacability which tends to introduce famine and the dissolution of all order, and, finally, the marching in of the Entente must of necessity affect the nourishment and transportation of all prisoners.

"If the English Red Cross makes a protest against this I must, for my part, consider it as an act of humanity for all magnanimously thinking English, and their Allies of like disposition, to bring it about that they free themselves and their countries from a blot, namely, the seeking to carry out an action which would bear for all time the stigma of unchivalrous oppression and of an un-Christian disposition."

THE FEDERAL CONFERENCE.

A Wolff Bureau telegram via Copenhagen (November 25) says:

The conference between the German Federal States began at 10 o'clock this morning at the Imperial Chancellors' palace. About seventy delegates attended. Besides a few former diplomatic representatives, there were a number of well-known Reichstag deputies, who are now taking a part in the government of their own states. There were also several new men, some of whom were sailors or soldiers.

The conference was opened by the People's Commissary, Herr Ebert, who made the following statement:—

"When we took charge of the administration all was in ruins. Now a Socialist-Republican Constitution has taken the place of the Monarchy and the executive power has been placed in the hands of the workmen and soldiers. The next aim is peace as soon as possible, upon the security of an economic basis. If some of the armistice terms are not soon omitted the worst consequences will ensue. A preliminary peace means rescue for us. Until that has been obtained we must all, every workman and every soldier, to the best of his ability, work for reconstruction. The liberty which has been secured would be worthless without bread or employment. The work of socialization began not as an experiment, or as applying to single factories, but to whole groups, after careful study, upon the security of an economic basis. To provide employment is now one of the most important aims. The summoning of a National Assembly is necessary in order to bring about regular co-operation between the Imperial administration and the Federal states. Tomorrow the Cabinet will consider a bill providing for the election of the National Assembly, but for the moment provisional arrangements must be made between the Federal states and the Imperial Government."

Dr. Solf, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said:—

"The situation is threatening to the utmost.

both because of our opponents' barefaced desire to destroy us and of the separatist movements in the country."

Dr. Solf added that he placed his hopes in the present conference.

Herr Erzberger, Secretary of State, made a statement upon the armistice terms.

The general debate was opened by the President of Bavaria, Herr Kurt Eisner, who began with a severe protest against both Secretaries of State (Dr. Solf and Herr Erzberger) as being compromised representatives of the old regime. He declared that their speeches did not show that they have done their duty during the revolution.—(Reuter.)

November 26th.

ANOTHER NOTE ABOUT THE ARMISTICE.

According to a Berne message (November 26), the following Note has been received from the German Government:—

"According to reports received in Berlin from the postal administration in Karlsruhe, Strasburg and Frankfort all the postal telegraphic and telephone services, in consequence of the steps taken by the enemy powers, have been completely interrupted between Alsace-Lorraine and the other parts of the empire since November 21. This state of affairs is causing heavy losses to the people concerned. Thousands of ordinary parcels addressed to places in Alsace are held up at Mannheim and Karlsruhe, and at the latter place over 200 registered parcels from Switzerland consigned to Alsace are detained. The majority of the parcels contain foodstuffs. Moreover, since noon on November 21, all passenger traffic between Alsace-Lorraine and the German Empire has been prohibited. On account of this there has been considerable interruption of trade with consequent hardships to many workers and other employees. The German Government draws attention to these measures for which there is no justification, and which are not in accordance with the terms of the armistice. It demands on behalf of Alsace-Lorraine and the German populations the immediate relaxation of the severity of the above measures.

(Signed) "SOLF,

"Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

THE SOLDIERS' COUNCIL AND POLISH IMPERIALISM.

According to German wireless (November 26), an appeal of the Executive Committee is addressed to all soldiers of the army in the field and refers to the dangers threatening from Polish imperialism. "The feeling of justice of all of us is one of indignation at the thought that, with disregard of the Wilsonian peace principles, purely German brethren and regions are to be separated by violence and submitted to Polish foreign domination."

THE FEDERAL CONFERENCE.

A Copenhagen message (November 26) states that at the afternoon sitting of the delegates of the Federal States, Herr Barth, Minister of

Social Policy, declared that a National Assembly was necessary, but before it met an assembly of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils should be summoned to act as a preliminary Parliament.

Herr Merges (Brunswick) said that he was opposed to a government of the Kerensky type. A dictatorship must continue until the country had been trained in a Socialistic direction. The old government must be swept away under the wrath of the people, but the right men were not yet in the right places.

Herr Ebert stated emphatically that the present government ruled, relying on the support of the different parties and on the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

Herr Kurt Eisner (Bavaria) warned the conference against any attempt to establish a pure social state at a time when disorder reigned. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils must be the basis of the future representation of labor, and the government must be fully imbued with Socialistic ideas. The Department of Foreign Affairs must be filled by men whose conduct was unimpeachable, and finally a President must be elected so that Germany as a whole should be able to negotiate with the Entente Powers.

Herr Haas (Karlsruhe) protested a dictatorship from Berlin, and declared that a National Assembly was the only preventive of separatist movements.

Herr Scheidemann insisted that at a time of disorder like the present it was not possible to create a social state. He was opposed to a class Parliament, such as the Workmen's and Soldier's Council must be for a long time.

The following resolutions were passed:—

(1) For the maintenance of Germany's unity it is absolutely necessary that all the German tribes should work in a spirit of unity for the empire, and should fight all Separatist movements.

(2) The proposal that a National Assembly should be summoned as soon as possible meets with general approbation.

(3) Until the meeting of the National Assembly the Workmen's and Soldier's Councils represent the people's will.

(4) The administration of the empire is requested to work for the obtaining of a preliminary peace as soon as possible.

RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

Telegrams from Berlin (via Copenhagen, November 26) remark that the contrast was noticeable at the Conference of Federal States in Berlin between the number of members of the Berlin Government and that of the ministers from the Federal States, especially South Germany, who were present. Several states, it is explained, wanted to complete the establishment of their own constitution, before the constitution of the Empire was finally fixed. But above all, it is added, the conference was unanimously in favor of the maintenance of the unity of the Empire. For this purpose it appears a government will probably be formed in which all Federal States or at any rate the greater part of them will be represented and the present government will either be increased in number or resign in favor of an "Empire Presidency." —(Reuter.)

November 27th.

THE FEDERAL CONFERENCE.

German wireless (November 27) circulate the following report of the meeting:—

In a final speech Herr Ebert appealed to the workers and soldiers in order that the German working classes may show the world that the fifty years' education in self discipline have not been lost by the Socialists. He declared:—

"If the German Republic is to live, it needs Labor; Socialism is Labor. The decision of today's sitting make it the duty of all to create for the new republic a constitutional establishment by means of a National Assembly."

In the morning sitting, a short report of which has already been made, State Secretary Solf said, with regard to the feeling in other countries and as to their effect in the carrying out of the peace programme:—

In England a haughty spirit of victory prevails. Even Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Henderson have been silenced, and Lord Cecil's resignation may be attributed to his attitude towards the Union of Nations, which is in accordance with that of Germany. In England an assured majority government in Germany is also demanded. If jubilation over victory prevails in England, in France the intoxication of victory is the order of the day. Public opinion there urges, before everything else, the suppression of any attempt at Bolshevism and the destruction of the state. In Poland it is the aim of the government to render possible the liquidation of the German occupation without bloodshed, although the national spirit is otherwise inclined. The German Ambassador has been advised that value is attached to the friendliest relations with the Polish State. In the Ukraine it appears as if the idea of a Russian Federal State will be insisted upon, even though counter-efforts make themselves felt. Russia has been recognized by the old government in the interests of the necessary conclusion of peace, and we want to live in peace also with the Soviet Government, but we must safeguard ourselves most determinedly against Bolshevik propaganda in our own country on the part of Moscow. The conditions in Russia have become unbearable. The end of the Soviet Government seems to be imminent.

ERZBERGER AND THE ARMISTICE.

In an exhaustive review about the execution

of the armistice agreement Herr Erzberger declared:—

For the time being the fulfilment of the conditions is progressing comparatively well. War materials were surrendered in accordance with instructions, but, on the other hand, only 3,000 locomotives and 100,000 railway wagons could be handed over. The return of prisoners is progressing normally, but the sending back of captured Russians before February 1, 1919, is impossible. He strongly doubted, however, the possibility of remaining within the period fixed for the evacuation, and expressed the fear that the Entente is looking for a legal excuse to penetrate into Germany. From this results the urgent necessity of a preliminary peace. He expressed the hope that out of such a peace the final stopping of bloodshed may follow.

ERZBERGER V. EISNER.

According to German wireless (November 27), the Berlin papers publish a detailed report of the speech made by Herr Erzberger, Secretary of State, in answer to the attack of the Bavarian Minister-President, Herr Eisner, who had designated Herr Erzberger as a hindrance to the conclusion of peace. Herr Erzberger said that the conditions of the armistice were not imposed on William II., but on the whole of the German people. The armistice conditions of the Allies, which had sprung from political considerations, were laid down before even the names of the negotiators were known. The harshness of the enemy's terms, therefore, had nothing to do with the personality of the negotiators. Herr Erzberger then gave a detailed account of the negotiations with the Allied representatives from November 8 to 11, concerning Germany's food supply, as a result of which, on November 11, the Allied Conference in Versailles decided in principle to supply Germany with food. In conclusion, Herr Erzberger said:—

"The German people await as the result of the debate an unambiguous programme which may be formulated in the following three points:—

"1. A solemn proclamation of the unity and indestructibility of the German Empire.

"2. The promotion of a speedy peace (Preliminary Peace), as otherwise the German people will perish.

"3. The convocation of the National Assembly as quickly as possible."

PART IV.

The German States

In alphabetical order, with material arranged chronologically
under each heading

ANHALT.

The Prince Regent of Anhalt has relinquished the throne of Anhalt on behalf of the Duke Joachim Ernst, and the ducal house has renounced all claims to succession.—(*Reuter.*) (November 13.)

BADEN.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

A Karlsruhe telegram (via Amsterdam, November 11) states that a proclamation issued by the Soldiers' Council and the Committee of Public Welfare announces that a Provisional People's Government for Baden has been formed and has taken over the task of Government.

The new government is composed as follows:

Anton Geiss (Landtag Deputy for Mannheim): Premier.

Senior Burgomaster Dietrich (Deputy for Constanze): Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Adolf Schwartz (President of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Mannheim): Minister of Social Affairs.

Bruemman (President of the Soldiers' Council at Karlsruhe): Minister for Military Affairs.

Dr. Ludwig Haas (Reichstag Deputy for Karlsruhe): Minister of the Interior.

Professor Wouth (Reichstag member for Freiburg): Minister of Finance.

The new government will allow the National Assembly, elected by general suffrage, to decide whether Baden shall be a Monarchy or a Republic, but Baden will, in any case, remain part of Germany. The proclamation further enjoins the maintenance of order, and says that officials are to remain at their posts, while soldiers are requested to return to barracks and obey orders.—(*Reuter.*)

BAVARIA.

THE NEW DIET'S MANIFESTO.

An Amsterdam message (November 8) states that the Dutch papers publish a telegram from Munich announcing that a proclamation has been issued in Munich, in the name of the Council of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants, of which Herr Kurt Eisner is the President, stating that the Council has

constituted itself a Diet, that Bavaria is henceforth a free State, and that a people's government, supported by the confidence of the masses, will at once be formed. The proclamation further states that the Democratic and Socialist Republic of Bavaria has strength to secure a peace for Germany which shall preserve the country from the worst.

The proclamation also says:—

A constituent National Assembly, elected by all adult men and women, will, if possible, be convoked. A new era is dawning. Bavaria will make Germany ready for a League of Nations. The present revolution was necessary in order, at the last moment, to complete the development of arrangements for the self-government of the people without too terrible shocks before the enemy armies stream across our country or before the troops after the armistice bring about chaos. The Council of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants will ensure strict order. Excesses will be suppressed without respect of persons. The safety of personal property is guaranteed. Soldiers in barracks will govern themselves and maintain discipline by means of Soldiers' Councils. Officers who do not resist the requirements of the altered situation will continue, unhindered, to carry out their duties. We reckon on the salutary co-operation of the entire population. Everyone is welcome who co-operates in the new freedom. All officials will remain at their posts. Fundamental social and political reforms will immediately commence.

The peasants will supply the towns with foodstuffs. The old antagonism between town and country will disappear. The distribution of foodstuffs will be rationally organized.

Workers and Citizens of Munich! Trust in the great and tremendous change which is being prepared in these difficult times. Let all assist so that the unavoidable revolution may take place quite peaceably. In this time of insane fratricide, we loathe all bloodshed. Every human life must be sacred. Keep calm and co-operate in building up a new world. The fratricidal struggle of Socialists is, so far as Bavaria is concerned, at an end. Long live the Bavarian Republic! Long live peace! Long live the creative labor of all workers!

Munich, Landtag Building. Night of November 7-8. In the name of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. President Kurt Eisner.—(*Reuter.*)

THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

Vorwärts, according to a Berlin telegram via Amsterdam (November 9), publishes the following telegram from Munich:—

A Republic was proclaimed here this morning. The garrison has placed itself under the orders of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. The Chief of Police has done the same.

All the State institutions are in the Council's hands. Both Socialist parties have arrived at complete agreement in order to safeguard the new Government. The Peasants Union and Progressives show a certain inclination to join the movement, which is characterized by no particularistic tendencies but, on the contrary, is quite loyal to the idea of an Empire, and wants a Republic for the whole of Germany. The new Government is constituted as follows:—The Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Herr Kurt Eisner; Minister of Worship, Herr Hoffman; Minister of Military Affairs, Herr Rosshaupter; Minister for Home Affairs, Herr Auer; Minister for Communications, Herr Fraendorfer; Minister of Justice, Herr Timm; Minister of Finance, Professor Jaffe; Minister of Social Affairs, Herr Unterleitner.

The Presidents of Parliament are Herr Schmid (Munich), Herr Roder of the Peasants' Union, and Professor Quidde.—(*Reuter*.)

A REVOLUTIONARY PROCLAMATION.

According to an Amsterdam wire (November 9), *Vorwärts* prints the following proclamation, which has been issued in Munich:—

Fellow Countrymen!—After years of destruction the people have overthrown those in power and has itself assumed the reins of Government. The Bavarian Republic is hereby proclaimed. The supreme authority is the Council of Soldiers, Workers and Peasants, elected by the populace, which has been provisionally established until final national representation has been created. The Council has legislative authority. The entire garrison has placed itself at the disposal of the Republican Government. The General-Kommando and the Chiefs of Police are under our orders. The Wittelsbach dynasty has been deposed. Long live the Republic! Long live the Workers' and Soldiers' Council!

(Signed) KURT EISNER.—(*Reuter*.)

PROCLAMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

German wireless (November 15) circulates the following:—

The new Bavarian Government intends to use all State castles for educational and hygienic purposes for the people.

The Ministerial Council of the Bavarian People's State has taken cognizance of the abdication from the Throne and has made known that the former King and his family may go about in Bavaria free and undisturbed like every other citizen so long as they guarantee to do nothing against the existence of the People's State of Bavaria.

The Government of the People's State of Bavaria makes known further that no confiscation of deposits in the banks and savings banks is intended, and that all claims for salary of people in the Civil Service, as well as the rights of pension and of the claims of those who survive them, will remain entirely undisturbed.

UNION OF ALL GERMANS.

The text of the proclamation issued by the Government of the Bavarian People's State is given in a Munich telegram via Amsterdam (November 16). The proclamation sets forth a programme of internal reforms on lines which are becoming familiar and declares incidentally:—

We consider it our duty to work for an intimate partnership between the German tribes, and we believe that the union of Germany with the German-Austrian Republic is necessary. We are furthermore resolved to carry out this national policy with a firm hand, and without touching the freedom and independence of Bavaria.—(*Reuter*.)

PROCLAMATION OF NOVEMBER 18th.

According to German wireless (November 18), the Bavarian National Government has published, in a proclamation to the Bavarian nation, a programme in which it is assured that (in addition to the existing Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Council, which must decide about the direction of the new State in the nation, in Parliament, and in the Government) the whole of the population will be given the possibility and the guarantee of being able to carry through their interests insofar as they are not opposed to the interests of the community as a whole. The programme continues:—

We express, quite openly, that it seems to us impossible to transfer immediately all industry into the possession of the community at a time in which the productive strength of the country is almost exhausted. It is impossible to socialize when there is hardly anything there to socialize. Furthermore, it seems impossible to us to carry through the socialistic organization in one isolated national region of the world economy. We also believe that not until after peace, when the only union of nations of the world-democracy has been formed, the decisive influence of the proletarian International, which has uplifted itself with new power in the united labor of the nations of the earth, the indispensable socialization can be carried through. We have in readiness three great problems of social revival for early solution: the large landed property, the question of municipal territory, and the educational system. The proclamation further purports that the whole of the school system must be arranged uniformly as an educational organization for the whole nation without distinction of social origin, and that the new order of the financial system must be regulated on the same principles as in the State.

SPEECH OF THE NEW PRIME MINISTER.

In the National Theatre at Munich, a revolutionary celebration took place, November 19. It was attended by representatives of Workmen's Soldiers' and Farmers' Councils from all parts of Bavaria. The Prime Minister, Kurt Eisner, spoke as follows:—

We have to-day the assurance that we will succeed without relaxation and without violence in finding our way into the new time. We who have found a new form of revolution will attempt to develop a new form of democracy. We wish for the constant co-operation of all the creative forces in the city and country. The past is dead, and woe to those who seek to revive again that accursed past. We are Socialists. That means that we wish to put away all restraints in the economic order which oppress and hinder the masses as well as the individual. We appeal to the nations who were yesterday our enemies; we confess our guilt, and thereby build the way for our enemies to come to an understanding and reconciliation.

OFFICIAL BAVARIAN REVELATIONS

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 24), the Munich *Korrespondenz Hoffmann* publishes an official report regarding the origin of the war. The introduction says that the Premier and Foreign Minister of Bavaria requested permission from the Federal Government to publish documents concerning the origin of the war. In his report of July 18, 1914, the Bavarian Minister in Berlin, Count von Lerchenfeld, mentioned the connection between the Berlin Government and Austria's fateful ultimatum to Serbia. Recording his conversations in the Foreign Office with Herr Zimmermann, the Imperial Under-Secretary of State, with reference to the Balkans and the Triple Alliance, and with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, Count von Lerchenfeld says:—

The step which the Cabinet in Vienna has resolved to take in Belgrade, namely, the delivery of the Note, will take place on July 25. Action has been postponed until this juncture because of the desire to await M. Poincaré's and M. Viviani's departure from St. Petersburg in order to make it difficult for the Entente to arrive at an understanding and to counteract. In Vienna until then a show of peaceful disposition is to be made, and the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff are to have furlough for some time.

After informing his Government of the probable contents of the Note, Count von Lerchenfeld continues:—

It is obvious that Serbia cannot accept such conditions, which are inconsistent with her dignity as an independent State. The consequence must, therefore, be war. It is absolutely agreed here that Austria should take advantage of this favorable moment even at the danger of further complications.

The opinion here is general that it is Austria's hour of fate. For this reason in reply to inquiry from Vienna the declaration was immediately made here that any line of action upon which Austria may resolve will

be agreed to, even at the risk of war with Russia. The free hand which was given to Count Berchtold's Chef-de-Cabinet, Count Hoyos, who arrived in Berlin to deliver a detailed memorandum, was so extensive that the Austrian Government was authorized to negotiate with Bulgaria regarding her joining the Triple Alliance.

Count von Lerchenfeld says that the view in Berlin was that it would have been preferable that action against Serbia should not have been postponed so long that the Serbian Government should have had time, on its own account but under pressure from the Franco-Russian side, to offer satisfaction. In his report to Count von Hertling, the Bavarian Premier, Count von Lerchenfeld further says:—

With reference to the Kaiser travelling in a foreign country and the Chief of the Great General Staff and the Prussian War Minister being on furlough, the Imperial Government will declare that it was as much surprised as the other Powers by Austria's action.

In a telegraphic communication from the Bavarian Legation in Berlin on the morning of July 31, 1914, the conviction was expressed that Sir E. Grey's honest efforts to preserve peace would certainly not succeed in arresting the course of events. In a communication from the Legation later on the same day the Minister said:—

At present, two ultimatums have been sent, one to St. Petersburg, expiring in twelve hours, and the other to Paris, expiring in eighteen hours. To St. Petersburg the inquiry is for the reason of the Russian mobilization, and to Paris the inquiry is whether the country will remain neutral. Both will, of course, be answered by a refusal. Then mobilization will take place at midnight on Saturday, August 1. The Prussian General Staff awaits war against France full of confidence, and reckons to be able to overthrow France in the course of four weeks. The moral of the French Army is not good. It has only a very few howitzers and bad rifles.

In a report dated August 4, 1914, the Minister said regarding Belgium:—

Germany cannot respect Belgium's neutrality. The Chief of the General Staff has declared that even British neutrality would be paid for too dearly if the price was the respect of Belgium, because an attack on France is only possible through Belgium.—
(*Reuter.*)

A DISCLAIMER BY BAVARIAN MINISTERS.

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 26), the Munich *Korrespondenz Hoffman* reports that at a meeting of the Bavarian Cabinet the following verbal declaration was made by Herren von Thelmann, von Brenning and von Knilling, who were Bavarian ministers of state at the outbreak of war:—

"We declare that neither officially nor privately have we received or had any knowledge at all of the report dated July 18, 1914, of the Bavarian Minister in Berlin, Count von Lerchenfeld, nor of the facts stated in it which were published in the Press yesterday."

This declaration is also subscribed to by the former Minister of Communications, Herr von Seidlein. The Cabinet decided to publish the declaration.—(*Reuter.*)

EISNER AND THE OLD REGIME.

According to a telegram from Munich, Kurt Eisner, addressing a meeting of Bavarian soldiers' and workmen's delegates, made the following statement:

"Last week I went to Berlin, where the old system is still in vigor. Among the secret documents at the Bavarian Legation I found some which will prove to the most skeptical minds that we Germans are responsible for the war. Those documents I have brought away with me.

"I have asked for the immediate arrest of Von Zimmermann and Von Jagow, and I am convinced that they will soon be in prison.

"I told the men of the old regime that they are incapable of conducting the peace and armistice negotiations. True, we have a revolutionary government in Berlin, but its voice is silenced. If Berlin is incapable of acting, then we in Bavaria must take things into our own hands and act in the interests of all."

Eisner added that at the Peace Conference Bavaria will advocate general disarmament, not only in Germany, but throughout the world, the maintenance of law and order being entrusted to police forces.—Havas.

BRUNSWICK.

A telegram from Brunswick via Copenhagen (November 9) asserts that the Duke of Brunswick and his successor have abdicated.—(*Reuter.*)

HAMBURG.

According to German wireless (November 20), the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Hamburg has announced that as soon as possible a new popular representation and new administrative institutions will be established. Until then, members of the former Senate and Lower House shall be entrusted with the administration, especially with that of the financial department. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Council has the right of veto and of sending its representative into the administrative bodies.

HESSE.

REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED.

A telegram from Darmstadt via Bale (November 11) announces that a republic has been proclaimed in Hesse.—(*Reuter.*)

THE HESSIAN GOVERNMENT.

According to German wireless (November 23), the Hessian Government has sent a telegram to the State Government in which it enters a protest against the separate states being "put out of circuit" and demands consideration for the laws of the separate states and the speedy summoning of the Constituent Assembly.

THE WORKMEN'S, FARMERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCILS OF HESSE.

A Darmstadt telegram (via Berlin and Copenhagen, November 23) states that the Workmen's, Farmers' and Soldiers' Councils of Hesse have decided to send an appeal by wireless to all the South German and those North German Workmen's, Farmers' and Soldiers' Councils who agree with their views, demanding the speedy summoning of a national convention as the only real means of representing the views of the whole German people and refusing to submit to the dictatorship of any one class of the community.

The Councils of Hesse exhort the South German and North German Councils to direct a similar appeal to the German Government. If a national convention is not summoned at the earliest possible moment, they say, and a dictatorship arises in Berlin, the South German and all similar minded North German Workmen's, Farmers' and Soldiers' Councils acting in common must summon a national convention in one of the South German capitals.—(*Reuter.*)

LIPPE.

A telegram from Detmold via Berlin and Copenhagen (November 13) announces that Prince Leopold of Lippe has abdicated.

MECKLENBURG.

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 11), the *Hamburger Nachrichten* states that the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg has abdicated, and that the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council has formed a new government.—(*Reuter.*)

OLDENBURG.

A Copenhagen message (November 24) states that the German papers report that the United Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils have proclaimed Oldenburg, Oestfriesland, Bremen, Hamburg, and Schleswig-Holstein a republic with its capital at Hamburg.—(*Reuter.*)

German wireless (November 23) reports:—

The ex-Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, after the example of other federal states, has been transformed into the "Free State of Oldenburg." The present government consists of a directorium composed of nine members, of whom five are Social Democrats, two middle-class deputies, and two former ministers.

POSEN.

GERMAN PROCLAMATION.

According to German wireless (November 6), *Vorwärts* publishes the German proclamation of the province of Posen, in which, in the name of 850,000 Germans, a protest is made against the joining of the German eastern provinces to the new Kingdom of Poland, and the appeal recalls that it was German diligence, German activity, and German knowledge which brought Posen to the present flourishing state, and it concludes as follows:—"We . . . hearts to live in peace and respect with our Polish neigh-

bors and countrymen. We are also quite agreed that the laws which they consider as oppressive, in so far as the necessities of the state allow, shall be put aside. What we do not want is that this province shall be considered as purely Polish and that Prussia and Germany shall regard it as foreign soil. And with all emphasis and with all the strength of which we are capable we protest, before Germany and the whole world, that Posen soil, on which we live and which the work of our forefathers has brought to such blessing and which contains the ashes of so many dead German generations, should never belong to any other state than Prussia or any other Empire than the German.'"

THE REGENCY COUNCIL.

From Warsaw it is reported (via Amsterdam, November 12) that the Regency Council has dispatched a telegram to the Polish Party in Posen, announcing that the German Army of occupation is withdrawing from the country. The telegram invites the Polish Party to Warsaw to establish a national government. A similar telegram has been sent to Cracow and Paris. The fortress of Posen is in the hands of a Workmen's and Soldiers' Council. The military authorities have placed themselves at the disposal of the council. The police headquarters, the telegraph office and the railway station have been occupied by troops, and the revolution has taken place without disorder of any kind.—(Reuter.)

VON GERLACH'S STATEMENT.

German wireless (November 22) states:—

During a meeting of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Posen, the Under-State Secretary, von Gerlach, explained, on November 19, that the Germans look upon the Polish question as one of the future. But it is neither a German nor a Polish, but only an international question, and one which must be decided by the Peace Congress. The right of self-determination must be maintained in reference to Poland as well as to other countries and no national minority may be suppressed. It is no way in keeping with the intentions of the State Government that parts of Prussia shall be violated. With regard to the Polish language, the Under-State Secretary announced that the government considers it obvious that it shall be introduced also as the official language.

PRUSSIA.

THE NEW PRUSSIAN CABINET.

According to *Vorwärts*, cited in a Berlin telegram (via Amsterdam, November 12), the executive of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council has appointed as members of the Political Cabinet of Prussia the Socialists, Herren Paul Hirsch and Heinrich Strobel as Presidents, and Herren Otto Braun, Eugen Ernst, and Adolf Hoffmann. A sixth member will be appointed. Herren Otto Braun and Adolf Hoffmann will administer the Ministry of Agriculture, Paul Hirsch and Emil Eichhorn, the Ministry of the Interior, Herr Eugen Ernst, the Police of Ber-

lin, Dr. Albert Sudekum, Ministry of Finance, and Herren Adolf Hoffmann and Konrad Hansisch, Ministry of Public Worship and Education.—(Reuter.)

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN CONTROL.

According to German wireless (November 15), the Prussian Government, which has taken over the business of state at the request of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, requests all Prussian authorities and officials in the civil service to continue their official activities in order to contribute for their part to the maintenance of order and security in the interest of the fatherland, in return for which their legal claims will remain uncurtailed.

A DECLARATION OF POLICY.

German wireless (November 15) states:—

The new Prussian People's Government has announced, in a proclamation to the Prussian people, the principle according to which Prussia may become as speedily as possible a complete democratic part of the united People's Republic. With regard to the future state institutions of Prussia, their relations to the state, to other German States, and to foreign countries, a Constituent Assembly has been decided upon, the election of which shall be on the basis of equal suffrage for all men and women in accordance with the proportional system. Until the convocation of this Legislative Assembly the present government will carry on business with the confidence of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

Among the numerous tasks of the new free Prussia, the government announcement points out: The carrying through of unrestricted liberty of coalition for all state workers and officials, fundamental reform of the salaries and wages of workers and officials, including pensioners and old age pensioners, and, until the final settlement, the granting of sufficient supplementary increases; the extension of all educational institutes, especially of the ordinary day-schools; the creation of special schools; the freeing of schools from political and church tutelage; separation of church and state; democratization of all administrative bodies; the doing away with all manorial districts; complete equal suffrage for both sexes for communal representation in town and country; the corresponding reformation of district and provincial administrative bodies; the most speedy extension and development of all means of communication, especially of the railways and the canals; the increased modernization of industry and agriculture; the association of the great appropriate industrial and agricultural organizations; the reform of judicial institutions and of the execution of penalties in a spirit of Democracy and Socialism; and the reform of the whole of the machinery of taxation according to the principles of the most strict social equity.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME.

According to German wireless (November 17), the Provisional Prussian Government pub-

lishes its programme, in which it declares:—

That which we all wish to have, freedom, peace, and bread, can only be secured when economic life is maintained in town and country. Therefore, stand together, co-operate for the welfare of all. In view of the huge number of tasks and of the exhaustion of the forces of men and material in the country through the terrible war, the spectre of hunger, which now threatens most severely especially women, children, and the sick, can only be averted by unity of effort of the whole people, and that only in this way can total collapse be prevented. The Provisional Government states further that Prussia, like Germany and the other German Federal States, has become a free state entity by the will of the people, and that therefore all Prussia must be changed into a completely democratic component part of the united People's Republic. The Provisional Government, resting on the confidence of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, has taken over the business of the state in close connection with the new German Government in order to take care of order and security in the land and the nourishment of the people.

Concerning future state institutions in Prussia and their relations to the realm, to the other German states, and to foreign countries a Constitutional Assembly will decide, election to which shall take place on the foundation of equal suffrage for all men and women, and according to a system of proportional representation. The Provisional Government is in this thrown upon the understanding and goodwill of the population in general, and especially on the conscientious co-operation of all the officials of the state and the corporate bodies of the self-administrative system. All civil officers who place themselves at the disposition of the new government are especially confirmed in their rights and are to be referred to in their duties. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Prussia proposes then the following important tasks: The carrying through of unconditional freedom of combination for all state workmen and civil service officials, the reform of their salaries and wages, inclusive of the granting of sufficient additions to meet the increase of prices, the separation of church from state, the fostering of all educational institutions, and especially of peoples' schools, the creation of a standard school, the freeing of schools from all ecclesiastical influences, the democratization of all corporate bodies, the speedy extension of all means of traffic, especially of railways and canals, the improvement and modernising of industry and agriculture, the uniting of the great industrial and agricultural organizations which are adapted for this purpose, reform of the administration of justice, and of the execution of punishment in the spirit of Democracy and of Socialism, and reform of taxation according to the fundamental principles of social justice.

THE DIETS.

German wireless (November 17) states:—

According to announcements in the papers, the Prussian "Council of People's Commissioners" has declared the Prussian Diet to be dissolved. Further, it was announced in the

Reichstag to the representatives that the Reichstag was considered as dissolved and that the House is therefore closed to all representatives.

The announcement of the dissolution of the Prussian Second Chamber is now confirmed officially. The Upper Chamber has been done away with.

LAW AND ORDER.

According to German wireless (November 18), the Prussian National Government has issued a sharp announcement that the independence of the courts of law must not be assailed. The sentences of the courts, therefore, need not be submitted to anyone, including any Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, for approval.

The Executive Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council declares that in connection with a decree of the Prussian Government, according to which government Presidents and Sub-Prefects are to continue their office, this execution of office will only take place under the strictest control of the local Workmen's and Soldiers' Council. All sub-prefectural offices have been given a deputy from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, who continuously control all measures taken, and who are to break open resistance on the part of the sub-prefects or other officials with force of arms if need be.

PROCLAMATIONS OF TWO MINISTERS.

According to German wireless (November 20), the Prussian Minister of Public Works has issued an order introducing an eight-hour working day in practically all sections of the railroad administration. Wages will not be affected. The Miners' Trade Unions have agreed with the Mine-owners' Associations about the introduction of an eight-hour working day, including the entrance and the leaving of the pits.

The Food Commissioner urges all Workmen's and Farmers' Councils to take care concerning the bringing in of potatoes and turnips, and, if necessary, to give to troops and people of both sexes who are without employment.

REUSS.

According to a Berlin telegram via Copenhagen (November 12), Prince Heinrich XXVII. of Reuss, Younger Line, has relinquished his throne.—(Reuter.)

SACHS-EISENACH-WEIMAR.

An Amsterdam wire (November 12), states that according to a Jena telegram to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* the Grand Duke of Sachs-Eisenach-Weimar has abdicated for himself and his house.—(Reuter.)

SAXONY.

ABDICATION OF THE KING.

According to German wireless (November 15), the former King of Saxony has abdicated from the Throne and has released all in his service from their oath of allegiance.

THE NEW SAXON GOVERNMENT.

A Dresden telegram via Amsterdam (November 15) gives the composition of the new Revolutionary Government of Saxony as follows:—

Herr Lipinski: Minister of the Interior and Foreign Affairs.

Herr Geyer: Minister of Finance.

Herr Fleissner: Minister of War.

Herr Schwarz: Minister of Labor.

Herr Dradnauer: Minister of Justice.

Herr Buck: Minister of Worship and Public Instruction.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S PROCLAMATION.

A Dresden telegram via Amsterdam (November 19), says:—

In the proclamation to the Saxon people the new government has declared that it is striving for the abolition of the Federal Constitution and for the union of Saxony with the German People's Republic, including German Austria. Self-government and protection for their cultural interests should be granted to the component parts of the German Republic. The authority of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils should be limited as soon as possible by a National Council of Workers and Soldiers.

After demobilization the National Guard should replace the standing army. In order to cover expenditure the assessment for taxation of large fortunes and incomes, especially war profits, and the abolition of incomes derived from the exploitation of labor.—(*Reuter.*)

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

According to German wireless (November 20), the new Saxon Government publishes an appeal to the peoples of Saxony, in which it demands the abolishment of the antiquated Federal Constitution and the amalgamation of Saxony with the German Republic, with which the German-Austrian Republic ought to be connected.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

THE KIEL REVOLUTIONARIES' MANIFESTO.

A Kiel telegram via Amsterdam (November 8), states that the Workers' and Soldiers' Council has addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein which says:—

Political power is in our hands. A provisional provincial government is being formed which will co-operate with the existing authorities in establishing the new order. Our aim is a free Socialist People's Republic. Our main task will be to secure peace and heal the wounds of war.

Questions that go beyond the limits of the provisional administration will naturally still belong to the domain of the state and the Imperial legislature. We are willing to co-operate in the present forms of government with the present officials so far as they are willing to submit to the new conditions. We are resolved to put down any resistance with the forces at our disposal.—(*Reuter.*)

APPEAL OF DANISH ASSOCIATIONS.

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 13), the newspapers of North Schleswig to-day publish the following appeal for a solution of the Schleswig question at the impending Peace Conference:—

On October 24 the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Solf, declared solemnly in the Reichstag, "After having accepted President Wilson's programme as a basis for the world-peace, we shall in every way and in all points fulfil its obligations loyally and in a spirit of righteousness and fairness."

In accordance, therefore, with this promise, we, the undersigned organizations, solemnly demand that the Chancellor and the Government of the Empire shall, at the coming peace negotiations, settle the North Schleswig question on the basis of the right of all peoples to self-determination.

The appeal is signed by 302 Danish Associations of North Schleswig.

WALDECK-PYRMONT.

A Berlin telegram via Copenhagen (November 14) says:—

Prince Friedrich of Waldeck-Pyrmont has voluntarily relinquished the government of the principality.—(*Reuter.*)

WURTEMBERG.

THE NEW ORDER.

A Stuttgart telegram (via Copenhagen, November 10) states that the King of Wurttemberg and the Cabinet have issued a proclamation, which says:—

The new Cabinet will summon a Constituent National Convention, which will be elected by equal, direct and secret suffrage. "Its aim will be to give the State a new Democratic Constitution in accordance with the needs of the new time."

The King declares that his person will never be a hindrance to the development desired by his people. The proclamation further warns the people against rash action, and calls upon it to maintain public security, in order that the people may be preserved from famine and hostile attacks.

The Dusseldorf Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, in a proclamation, declares that public security and order will be maintained in co-operation with the police administration. Everyone who plunders or steals will be shot, and no strike will be permitted. The revolution at Dusseldorf was effected without disturbances.—(*Reuter.*)

A REPUBLIC.

A Stuttgart message (via Copenhagen, November 10) announces that a new provisional government has been established in Wurttemberg, and a republic proclaimed. General Ebbinghaus, with his staff, has handed over to the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council the maintenance of public security. The government is only provisional, and its first object is to

summon a Constituent National Assembly. Any disturbances will be put down by force.—(Reuter.)

THE GOVERNMENT'S APPEAL.

A Stuttgart telegram (via Amsterdam, November 11) says that the new Provisional government has issued the following appeal:—

A mighty but happily bloodless revolution has been consummated. A Republic is proclaimed, a new epoch of democracy and freedom is dawning. The old authorities are abdicating. The people assumes political authority. Its immediate representatives are the Workers' Council, formed from the free trade unions, Social Democratic, and Independent Socialist Parties. General von Ebbinghaus, with his corps of officers, has placed himself at the disposal of the Workers' Council to carry out the requisite measures for the maintenance of public safety. The provisional government regards it as its first duty to prepare a Constituent Assembly on the basis of the electoral demands made known in our programme. The government will issue a comprehensive amnesty. It summons the populace to maintain order and resume work. Resolute

action is to be taken against unauthorized elements who lay claim to public offices. Measures have been taken to protect life and property. Soldiers are to obey their elected Soldiers' Council. We appeal to the population of the remaining communes of the country to follow the example given by the population of Stuttgart. We send a brotherly greeting to the workers and soldiers of all countries and appeal to them to work together with the German revolutionary people and assist the attainment of a speedy and lasting peace of justice.

A Provisional government has been formed as follows:—

Presidents: Herren Blos and Crispien.
Minister of Foreign Affairs: Herr Blos.
Minister of the Interior: Herr Crispien.
Minister of Labor: Herr Lindemann.
Minister of Finance: Herr Talheimer.
Minister of Public Worship: Herr Heymann.
Minister of Justice: Herr Mattutat.
Minister of War: Herr Schreiner.

General von Ebbinghaus has announced that he is ready, in agreement with the Soldiers' Council, to co-operate in the maintenance of military order in Stuttgart.—(Reuter.)

PART V.

Austria-Hungary

Includes, first, Austria-Hungary as a whole; then, arranged alphabetically, the various "subject peoples"

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Diplomatic correspondence has been included above,—under Part I.

A REQUEST FOR FOOD.

A Vienna telegram (via Amsterdam, November 7), says:—

Immediately on the conclusion of the armistice the Foreign Ministry applied to the Entente and the United States with a request to secure food supplies for those districts which are absolutely dependent on imports. The basis of this step is Article 5, of the naval conditions, which provides for the establishment of a commission to decide on the exceptions in the enforcement of the blockade in order to allow our ships to sail. An account of the distressful situation in these districts was presented to the above mentioned Governments, and they were begged to establish this commission as soon as possible and place the demand before it to allow a certain number of our ships, several of which are lying in Spain and the Dutch Indies, to sail to the Argentine and North America, and also from India. These Governments were further asked to allow corn, fat and frozen meat to be bought and loaded for us in these countries. The transport would take place under the *agis* of the Entente and the United States' Governments, *via* Trieste and the railways extending from there.

If the hoped-for consent arrives the details can be settled with the above mentioned commission in a minimum time so that journeys to those countries which could deliver us the necessary foodstuffs would take place soon.—(*Reuter.*)

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

A NATIONAL COUNCIL AT SERAJEVO.

A Belgrade telegram via Amsterdam (November 9) says that a Bosnian National Council has been formed at Serajevo, with Athanas Sola at its head, all parties participating. General Sarkotic has offered his services to the Council. The Serbian Government, which is at present at Visegrad, immediately entered into communication with the Bosnians, and at their request sent Serbian troops to Bosnia. They arrived on November 7. The Council has appointed a Government of nine members with

executive power. The Government immediately proclaimed Bosnia-Herzegovina's union with the South Slavs.—(*Reuter.*)

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

(Includes German-Bohemia)
SELIGER.

A telegram from Reichenberg (Bohemia) (via Amsterdam, November 2), says that the Reichstrath deputy, Herr Seliger, has taken charge of the Government of German-Bohemia.—(*Reuter.*)

UNION OF ALL GERMANS.

According to German wireless (November 13), the German-Bohemian State representative body has sent a telegram to the Chancellor, joining in the wish of the German-Austrian State Council that the present political events may lead to a union of all Germans.

DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN BOHEMIA.

A Prague telegram (via Amsterdam (November 15), says:—

At the last sitting of the National Council it was decided to form a Government with fifteen departments. The City of Prague itself is to receive a new administrative body, while the former administration of the country is to be dissolved. An eight-hours' working day will be introduced for the whole State, and nobility decorations and titles will be abolished.—(*Reuter.*)

THE NEW CABINET.

A Reuter message from Amsterdam (November 16, delayed) states that according to a Prague telegram the Czech Premier, Dr. Kramarez, has constituted a Czecho-Slovak Ministry as follows:—

Dr. Benes: Minister for Foreign Affairs.
M. Habermann: Minister for Education.
M. Klofac: Minister for National Defence.
M. Pranner: Minister for Agriculture.
M. Rasin: Minister for Finance.
M. Stanek: Minister for Public Works.
M. Sokup: Minister for Justice.
M. Stransky: Minister for Trade.
M. Striberney: Minister for Posts.
M. Srobar: Minister for Public Health.
M. Stefanik: Minister for War.

M. Soehls: Minister of the Interior.
M. Vrbensky: Minister for Food.
M. Winter: Minister for Social Welfare.
M. Zahradnik: Minister for Railways.
M. Hurban: Minister without Portfolio.—

(Reuter.)

NOTE TO THE MAGYAR GOVERNMENT.

A Prague telegram (via Amsterdam, November 20), says:—

The Prime Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Dr. Kramarez, has sent a Note to the President of the Magyar Republic, Count Karolyi, protesting against the acts of violence committed by Hungarian troops in Slovak territory, and holding the Magyar Government responsible for all bloodshed. The Note also refers to the Entente's recognition of the Czecho-Slovak State, and adds that the Czecho-Slovak Republic has only allowed its territory to be occupied in cases where the inhabitants have appealed for help. That territory, the Note adds, was abandoned by the Magyar officials and gendarmes.—(Reuter.)

GERMAN-AUSTRIA.

THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN STATE.

A Vienna telegram (via Amsterdam, November 6), says that the deputies of the Lower Houses of the Austrian Landtag and the Reichsrat have constituted themselves the Lower House of the Austrian National Assembly. They have elected the Christian Socialist, Herr Steiner, as Lord-Lieutenant, and the Social Democrat, Herr Sever, and the Christian Socialist, Herr Meyer, as his deputies. They have also elected a National Committee of seven members. Dr. Weisskirchner, Burgo-master of Vienna, welcomed the members of the German-Austrian National Assembly and promised his loyal support. The Assembly finally adopted Dr. Weisskirchner's motion for the inclusion in the Lower House of the Austrian administration of representatives of the German communities of Southern Moravia.—(Reuter.)

GERMAN-AUSTRIA AND THE CZECHS.

A Vienna telegram from Amsterdam (November 9) says the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Adler, has handed a note to the Ambassador of the Czecho-Slovak State sharply protesting against the violation of Germany territory in the Sudetic lands by the Czechs.—(Reuter.)

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA'S ABDICATION.

According to a Copenhagen message (November 12) the Emperor Charles of Austria has issued the following proclamation:—

Ever since my accession to the Throne I have unceasingly tried to deliver my peoples from the tremendous war for which I bear no responsibility. I have not retarded the re-establishment of Constitutional life, and I have re-opened to my peoples the way to solid national development. Filled with un-

alterable love for all my peoples I will not, in my person, be a hindrance to their free development. I acknowledge the decision of German-Austria to take for the future the form of a separate State. The people have by their Deputies taken charge of the Government. I relinquish all participation in the administration of the State. I likewise release my Austrian Ministers from their offices. May the German-Austrian people harmoniously and peacefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. The happiness of my peoples has from the beginning been the object of my warmest wishes. Internal peace alone will be able to heal the wounds which this war has caused.

(Signed) CHARLES.
(Countersigned) LAMMASCH.
—(Reuter.)

THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC.

A telegram from the Vienna semi-official news agency (via Copenhagen, November 12) states:—

The Bavarian troops on Monday left the Tyrol. The State Council has laid before the National Convention a Bill providing for the proclamation of a German Austrian Republic, adherence to the German Republic and general suffrage.

UNION WITH GERMANY.

A Vienna telegram via Copenhagen (November 12) announces that the State Council has adopted a Bill proclaiming the Republic of German-Austria a part of the German Republic.—(Reuter.)

RESIGNATION OF THE LAMMASCH CABINET.

The Vienna papers, according to a Vienna telegram via Amsterdam (November 13), state that the Emperor's renunciation of his rights as a ruler has resulted in the retirement of the joint Austro-Hungarian Minister for War, General Stoger-Steiner, as well as the resignation of the Lammasch Cabinet.—(Reuter.)

UNION WITH GERMANY.

According to German wireless (November 15), Under-Secretary of State, Bauer, in Vienna, has addressed a telegram to the People's Commissioner, Haase, in Berlin, stating:—

German-Austria has given expression to its will to be united again with the other parts of the German nation from which it was forcibly separated fifty-two years ago.

Bauer begs that this effort of the German people in Austria may receive support, and that direct negotiations may be entered upon for union with the German Republic and for participation in German legislation and administration, and that an opportunity be given to German-Austrians to take part, with the German Republic, in all questions of peace negotiations. Bauer finally requests the assistance of Germany in the present great need of German-Austria.

THE NEW VIENNA CITY COUNCIL.

A Vienna telegram (via Zurich, November 15) states that women will occupy twelve seats on the City Council, which have been apportioned to them. Two are Liberal, five Social-Democratic, and five Christian Socialist. The future Council will consist of sixty Social-Democrats, eighty Christian Socialists, and nineteen Liberals; the remainder will be Radicals and Independents.—(*Reuter*)

THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN OFFICE.

A Vienna telegram (via Copenhagen, November 17) says that Dr. Otto has been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in succession to Dr Victor Adler.—(*Reuter*.)

According to German wireless (November 17) Social-Democrat member of the State Council Dr. Ellenbogen has been chosen for State-Secretary of the Foreign Office of the German-Austrian Republic.

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES.

According to German wireless (Nov. 22), all members of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Berlin have resigned. The Ambassador of German-Austria in Berlin will be the well-known University Member, Dr. Ludo Hartmann.

A telegram from Vienna (via Stockholm, Nov. 22) announces that the State Council has appointed Herr von Callenberg, Chief of Section of the Foreign Department, to be German-Austrian Minister to Sweden.—(*Reuter*.)

HUNGARY.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME.

A telegram from Budapest via Amsterdam (Nov. 2) states that the King, in accordance with the proposals of Count Karolyi, has appointed the new Hungarian Cabinet as follows:—

Count Karolyi, Prime Minister and Provisional Finance Minister.

Count Batthyany, Minister of the Interior.

Martin Lovaszy, Minister of Public Worship and Education.

Barnabas Buza, Minister of Agriculture and Provisional Minister of Justice.

Franz Nazy, Minister of Food.

Ernest Garani, Minister of Commerce.

Sigmund Kunfi, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Oscar Jaszi, Minister without portfolio.

Lieut. Bela Lindner, Minister of War.

Paul Szende, Secretary of State for Finance.

The conclusion of peace is designated as the first and most urgent task of the new Government, and the hope is expressed that the territorial integrity of the country may be saved. The proclamation states that the complete political independence of Hungary is assured, and says that a Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs is being appointed. It continues:—

The free Hungarian nation extends the hand of fraternity to the other peoples living in the Fatherland, and to all free peoples. The liberty of the Press, trial by jury, and the right of assembly will be restored, while a military and civilian amnesty has been proclaimed, and in-

terned persons will be sent home. A Bill will be introduced at an early date for universal equal and secret suffrage, including women's.

The proclamation also holds out the prospect of social and labor measures, and of assisting large masses of the people to acquire land. Should any point of the programme be rejected by the present Lower House, the latter will immediately be dissolved and new elections will be ordered. The proclamation finally exhorts the population to maintain calmness and order, and requests their patience and confidence in the Government. The Minister of War has ordered the civilians and the military immediately to surrender their arms, ammunition, and military equipment.—(*Reuter*.)

A PROCLAMATION TO HUNGARIAN SOLDIERS.

A Budapest telegram (via Amsterdam, November 3) reports that the Hungarian Minister of War has issued a proclamation to the soldiers, saying:—

After over four years of glorious fighting, the responsible Hungarian Government saw itself obliged, in view of the critical situation of Hungary, and on the ground of a new world-conception, which overthrows the domination of arbitrary power and is striking for a peaceful League of Nations, to cease from fighting in all theatres of war. In connection with this decision of the Hungarian Government, I simultaneously issued an order to this effect. You are not vanquished. Obey orders with your head erect, conscious that your heavy struggle has not been in vain, for it has materialized in the greatest triumph of mankind. With your blood and your perseverance you have bought the salvation of Hungary, and saved your sons and grandsons from the bloody horrors of a future war. You have realized the most beautiful dream of languishing mankind, the world peace. The proclamation further points out that the Hungarian Government will take all care to provide the returning soldiers with work, food and clothes, and concludes: "In order successfully to pass through the transition period from today's conditions to a quiet and peaceful life, we are organizing soldiers' councils and a national guard for the maintenance of internal order."—(*Reuter*.)

HUNGARIANS, RUMANIANS AND SAXONS.

A Budapest telegram (via Amsterdam, November 4) says:—

A proclamation has been issued by the Hungarian National Council, the Rumanian National Council, and Saxon deputies, which appeals to all sons of Hungarian, Rumanian and Saxon nationalities to get into touch with each other in order to maintain internal peace by mutual understanding and trust and to agree on the means of safeguarding private property amidst events which may possibly occur.—(*Reuter*.)

GENERAL D'ESPEREY MEETS KAROLYI.

A Belgrade telegram (via Budapest and Amsterdam, November 9) says that Count Karolyi,

the Hungarian Premier, met General Franchet d'Esperey on November 7. Count Karolyi read a memorandum of the Hungarian People's Government, which described the war as one of the old feudal autocratic Government of the Monarchy, which, in alliance with Prussian militarism, had plunged Europe into war. The memorandum proceeded:

This system quite prevented the war's opponents, the Pacifists and the Democrats, from making their voices heard, and only the feudal classes, the friends of German Imperialism and the enemies of the nationalities could be heard. This situation has now entirely changed. The people's revolution has overthrown the old order, swept away the reactionary Government, and, on November 1, within the first twenty-four hours after the accession to power, it proposed an immediate laying down of arms. This decision, however, was not forwarded by the Chief of the Army Command, manifestly in order to conceal the independence of the Hungarian Government. Hungary is completely cut off from contact with the rest of Europe. The Army Command has cut our telegraph lines. It is not we who command over our troops. The Chief of the Army Command also has informed us that General von Weber is entrusted with negotiations in the name of the old Monarchy. As the representatives of the Hungarian nation we immediately protested. We solemnly declare that we take no responsibility whatever either legally or morally for the internal or foreign actions of the past regime. We are enthusiastic supporters of the League of Nations. We accept as a final solution the establishment of independent Czech and South-Slav States. There are certain controversies amongst us, but merely regarding the fixing of the frontiers of the States, which we will readily leave to the decision of the general peace conference.—(Reuter.)

HUNGARY'S APPEAL TO THE ALLIES.

A delayed telegram from Budapest (via Amsterdam, November 10) states that the memorandum which Count Michael Karolyi read to General Franchet d'Esperey in Belgrade on November 7 asks for protection for "the unhappy people of Hungary from all violence."

The memorandum continues:—

Hungary is no enemy, but a neutral country since November 1, and if you come to our country you will learn that our people are full of sympathy for France. We beg of you if you desire to bring foreign troops to Hungary that they shall not be Serbian, Czech, or Rumanian, but French, Italian, English, or American, exclusive of colonial troops.

A further urgent request is that the scarcity of coal should be remedied immediately. The memorandum also asks for a speedy restoration of diplomatic representation with the Entente. When Count Karolyi read the passage declaring that the delegates represented the will of the Hungarian people, General Franchet d'Esperey interrupted him with the words: "You only represent the Magyar nation, not the other peoples of Hungary," and continued:—

Hungarians until 1816 were popular in France, but since then they have been com-

pletely bound to Germany. They have suppressed the other nationalities of Hungary and have made common cause with the Germans; they must therefore pay the forfeit with them.

Count Michael Karolyi, said General Franchet d'Esperey, was, however, the only man who could mitigate the situation of Hungary. Hungary was surrounded by enemies on all sides. He, General d'Esperey, need only give them the sign, and the Czech-Slovaks, Rumanes, and South Slavs would crush her. For the Entente, however, Count Karolyi's person was a guarantee, and he therefore called the attention of the Hungarian peoples to the fact that they should support the Premier. General Franchet d'Esperey complained of the Hungarian Press for its vilification of the French during the war. The Mission was then dismissed, and General Franchet d'Esperey discussed details with both Ministers and formally presented the armistice terms.

The Hungarian representatives stated that they could only sign if the Entente would guarantee, until the peace negotiations, the present frontiers of the Hungarian State, exclusive of Croatia and Slavonia, from any foreign attack. Until the peace negotiations, the Hungarian Government will in those regions of the Hungarian State exercise Government authority in union with the Hungarian, Slav, Serbian, and German nationalities. General Franchet d'Esperey agreed, and promised to send a telegram forthwith to Paris, together with the Hungarian proposals for the solution of the coal question.—(Reuter.)

GREETINGS TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

A telegram from Budapest (via Amsterdam, November 10) says:—

The Revolutionary Hungarian Government sends its friendly greetings to the German people. It requests instructions to be sent to the troops fighting in Hungary to lay down their arms, and it also begs for assistance in the removal of such difficulties as regards the coal supply.—(Reuter.)

THE NEW HUNGARIAN FOREIGN OFFICE.

According to an Amsterdam wire (November 13), the Ministerial Council has appointed the author, Josef Diner-Denes, to take charge of the political section of the new Hungarian Foreign Ministry.—(Reuter.)

A telegram from Budapest via Copenhagen (November 18) says:—

THE REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED.

A Hungarian Republic was proclaimed yesterday. The Archduke Joseph has taken the oath to the Republic, after the Premier, Count Karolyi, had declared in a speech that the people and Government had great sympathy for him.—(Reuter.)

HUNGARY AND THE ARMISTICE TERMS.

A telegram from Belgrade (via Budapest and Amsterdam, November 15) says:—

The Minister of War, Lieutenant Bela Lindner, acting on behalf of the Hungarian Govern-

ment, signed a military convention on November 13 by which the armistice treaty concluded on the Italian front is to be applied to Hungary. The convention was signed on behalf of the Entente by the Serbian Commander-in-Chief, Voivode Risitch, and the French General Henry. The convention is identical with the text of the one agreed upon between Count Karolyi and General Franchet d'Esperey. In accordance with the terms of the convention the entire territory of Hungary is to remain under Hungarian administration. The Commander of the army of occupation in Hungary is General Henry, who has expressed the desire, in agreement with the Hungarian Government, to send a French division to Budapest at the earliest possible moment.—(*Reuter*.)

THE LETTER OF ABDICATION.

According to an Amsterdam wire (November 15), this communication from King Charles has been handed to the Premier, Count Karolyi, by the President of the House of Magnates:

Since ascending the Throne it has been my constant endeavor to liberate my people as speedily as possible from the miseries of war in the origin of which I had no part. I do not desire that my person shall stand in the way of the development of the Hungarian nation, for which I cherish an unchangeable love. I therefore renounce all share in the conduct of State affairs, and accept beforehand every decision of Hungary regarding its future State form.

Given at Eckhartsau, November 13, 1918.

KARL, Imp.

—(*Reuter*.)

THE PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

The proceedings of the Hungarian National Assembly in the Kuppel Hall on the day of the proclamation of the Republic (November 16) are described in long Budapest telegrams (via Amsterdam.) The Secretary of State, M. George Nagy, submitted the following national resolution:—

The National Council has by the will of the people adopted the following national resolution:—

Article 1.—Hungary is a People's Republic, independent of all other countries.

Article 2.—The Constitution of the People's Republic will be established by a Constituent National Assembly, to be urgently summoned on the basis of the new suffrage. The House of Deputies and the House of Magnates are dissolved and have ceased to exist.

Article 3.—So long as the Constituent National Assembly does not decide otherwise, the Supreme State Authority will be exercised by the People's Government under the presidency of Michael Karolyi, with the support of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council.

Article 4.—Enumerates the various urgent laws which the Government has to enact regarding universal suffrage for men and women, freedom of the Press, distribution of land, etc.

Article 5.—All legal prescriptions in contradiction with the foregoing are to lose their validity. All the other legal prescriptions are to remain in force.

The resolution was put to the vote point by point and unanimously carried. Count Karolyi, the Premier, said that the difficulties of reconstruction were increased by the fact that there was still a certain amount of suspicion about the sincere, really democratic, pacifist and Socialist will of the Hungarian nation. Their most important task, therefore, was to disperse this suspicion. He said:—

We must loudly proclaim that we adopt President Wilson's principles in regard to the right of peoples to self-determination. We must break with the old system of diplomacy and secret treaties.

The Minister, M. Kunfit, then spoke, demanding that those must be called to account who were responsible for the domination of the old system. He finally expressed the hope that M. Longuet and Mr. Henderson would not allow the Imperialists of the world to strangle the new Hungarian democracy.

COUNT KAROLYI REPLIES TO DR. KRAMARCZ.

A Budapest telegram via Amsterdam (Nov. 20) says:—

The Hungarian Premier, Count Karolyi, in reply to the Note of the Prime Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Dr. Kramarcz, regarding recent events in Slovakia, points out that the Allies undertook in the armistice treaty not to interfere in the internal administration of Hungary, and that the Czecho-Slovaks had therefore no right to occupy parts of Hungary with military forces. The Allies, he says, are only empowered to occupy strategically important points specially designated by the Commander-in-Chief. The reply further states that if the Czech troops do not evacuate all Hungarian territory within a very short time Hungary will be obliged to apply to the Entente for their removal.—(*Reuter*.)

JUGO-SLAVIA.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF LAIBACH.

A Laibach telegram via Amsterdam (November 10) states that on the instructions of the National Government of Laibach a deputation proceeded to Adelsberg on November 7 for the purpose of intervening with the Italian commanders. From the conversations which ensued it would appear that misunderstandings exist with regard to the interpretation of the armistice conditions between the Austro-Hungarian Army Command and the Italian Government. The Italians maintain that the Austro-Hungarian Army is under the obligation to surrender its entire war material, with the exception of personal arms. The Austro-Hungarian Army, on the other hand, takes up the standpoint that only half of its heavy war material is to be surrendered. The Italians are threatening reprisals.

The telegram continues:—

The National Government adopts the view that armistice conditions do not exist for the independent State of the South-Slavs and that the Austro-Hungarian Army does in fact not exist, and, therefore, all war material in the

South-Slav States should be left in the possession of the South-Slav Government until the peace conference. The National Government has asked the South-Slav Government at Agram to request the Entente Powers to abstain from occupying South-Slav territory or to have the occupation undertaken by Italian troops.—*(Reuter.)*

DECISIONS OF THE MONTENEGRIN ASSEMBLY.

(This item is included under "Jugo-Slavia" because of its subject matter.)

A telegram from Agram says that the Montenegrin National Assembly met at Podgoratza last Sunday. After discussing the political

and economic interests of the people of Montenegro, it voted the following resolutions:—

(1) King Nicholas and the Petrovich Dynasty are declared to have lost all right to the throne of Montenegro.

(2) Montenegro unites with Serbia under the Karageorgevich dynasty, entering the common motherland of the people of three denominations: Serbs, Croats and Slavonians.

(3) A National Council will be elected to govern the affairs of United Serbia and Montenegro.

(4) These decisions will be communicated to ex-King Nicholas, to the Serbian Government, to the Entente Powers and to the Governments of all neutral states.—*(Radio, December 3.)*

PART VI.

Russia and the Border States

In alphabetical order, with the material arranged chronologically
under each head

THE CAUCASUS.

NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED.

A Kiev message received via Berlin says that political conferences have been held within the last few days at Ekaterinodar (Kuban Province of Cis-Caucasia). An All-Russian Government composed of the following members of the General Staff of the Volunteer Army has been formed:—

Premier, General Dragozoff.

Minister of War, General Lukomski.

Under-Secretary for War, General Makarenko.

Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Sasonoff.

Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, M. Neratoff.

Minister of the Interior, M. Astroff.

Minister of Commerce, M. Stephanoff.

Under-Secretary for Commerce, M. Lebedeff.

The government's programme is to re-establish a united Russia on the federative principal, to create a new territorial army with the Volunteer Army as its basis, and to maintain order in the Ukraine. A democratic franchise, workmen's insurance, and other social reforms are promised.—(*Reuter, Copenhagen, November 21.*)

ESTHONIA.

THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC.

A Reval telegram (via Stockholm, November 25) states that the Provisional Government has adopted the following proclamation to all citizens:—

The government is based on the people's will. All citizens must therefore protect their new liberty and the civil and personal privileges of everyone must be safeguarded. An eight-hour working-day must be established, and an appeal made to the Allied Governments to send cereals.

The Landtag, which assembled on November 20, proclaimed a general, equal, secret, and proportional franchise. Hopes are expressed that the new Republic will be recognized and will be able to enter the League of Nations. The government has decided to summon the Esthonian people to the colors. The country's army at present numbers some 25,000 men.—(*Reuter.*)

FINLAND.

RESOLUTION OF REPUBLICAN PARTY.

A Helsingfors telegram to the *Stockholm Tidningen* states that a Finnish Republican

meeting, held November 10th, pronounced for a policy of strict neutrality, and immediate negotiations with Germany and with the Allied countries with regard to the acknowledgment of Finland's independence. The meeting demanded a foreign policy directed so that Finland should join the League of Nations, and considered that the government ought to resign, since it had, through its foreign policy, been a direct hindrance to the acknowledgment of Finland by foreign Powers. Finally it was decided that in order to obtain internal peace new elections ought to be arranged, and that the Republicans ought to stick to their demand that the country's form of government should be Republican.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 12.*)

COALITION GOVERNMENT.

A telegram from Helsingfors announces that the various Finnish political parties have agreed, in view of the present serious state of affairs, upon the necessity of forming a coalition government from the Bourgeois, Monarchist, and Republican Parties. It has been decided to recall General Mannerheim in order to discuss the political question with the Landtag groups.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 15.*)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

It is reported from Helsingfors that steps have been taken with regard to the representation of Finland at the Peace Conference, and the representatives have already been appointed.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 17.*)

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

Reports from Helsingfors state that the new Finnish Government, formed with the President of the Landtag, Professor Ingman, as Premier, consists of six Republicans and seven Monarchists. The main points of the government's programme are: Obtaining recognition of Finland's independence from the Great Powers, if possible before the general Peace Conference; a neutral Finnish foreign policy; preservation of Finland's territorial integrity; the solution of the East Karelian question by negotiations; the counteracting of the revolutionary movement from the East; the earliest possible re-establishment of normal domestic conditions, especially as regards food difficulties; and new elections to the Landtag. The new government is characterized as being the work of General Mannerheim.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 26.*)

LETTLAND.

German wireless (November 25) states that, according to a report in the *Tag*, a republic of Lithuania was proclaimed at the second Municipal Theatre at Riga in the presence of the Lettish National Council and a large Lettish audience. Karl Ullmann has been elected as Prime Minister.

LITHUANIA.

A NEW MINISTRY.

A Riga telegram (via Amsterdam, November 16) states that a new Ministry has been formed in Lithuania under M. Woldemaras, who will also become Foreign Minister. The two brothers, MM. Itschas, have accepted the portfolios of Finance, Commerce, Trade, and Public Worship.—(*Reuter.*)

THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSION.

According to a Copenhagen message (November 19), the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* reports that the so-called Prussian-Lithuanian People's Commission has published a proclamation in the Tilsit papers, appealing for the foundation of a Great Lithuania. The districts of Libau, Wehlau, Insterburg, Darkehmen, and Goldap were proclaimed Lithuanian territory. German troops are reported to be on their way eastward to carry out these measures.—(*Reuter.*)

POLAND.

STATEMENT BY VON BESELER.

According to German wireless (November 12), Governor-General von Beseler has informed the Polish Regency Council that by order of the Imperial Chancellor the administration office of the General Government of Warsaw, with the exception of railways under military command, and the telegraphic and wireless communications in the military service, will be handed over to the Polish State Government before December 1. The General Government will be dissolved within the next few days. The German garrison troops, still necessary for the maintenance of order and safety in the country, are to be placed under military commanders. The head of the administration has plenipotentiary powers to make an agreement with the Polish Government for the handing over of the administration of the country, and to conclude a temporary economic agreement which shall be mutually binding upon the German Empire and the Polish State, until such time as normal economic relations shall be restored.

PILSUDSKI TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT.

A telegram from Warsaw via Amsterdam (November 15) states that the Polish Regency Council has announced that all troops shall be placed under General Pilsudski's command.

General Pilsudski has been entrusted with the formation of a national government, and when he has accomplished this task the Regency Council will hand over its authority to the new government.—(*Reuter.*)

APPEALS FROM PILSUDSKI.

German wireless (November 18) circulates the two following messages:—

To Generalissimo Foch, Great General Headquarters of the Allied Troops, France.

In my capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army I beg the French Government and your Excellency to be kind enough to take the necessary steps in order that the Polish troops forming part of the French Army be sent to Poland as soon as possible and incorporated into the Army which today is united under my command. The Polish nation, which for a long time has suffered the occupation of its country by foreign troops, is at present preparing with the greatest enthusiasm to receive on their native soil the sons of the Fatherland who are dispersed all over the world. The Polish nation would look upon a favorable reply on the part of the French Government as upon a fresh proof of generosity and a precious sign of good will of France towards the Polish cause.

PILSUDSKI.

To Generalissimo Foch, Great General Headquarters of the Allied Troops, France.

Not being in a position to enter into direct radio-telegraphic communication with the President of the United States, I beg to request the Government of the French Republic to be kind enough to have transmitted to him, through the intermediary of your Excellency, the following telegram: Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. In the name of the Polish Army, whose Commander-in-Chief I am, I beg you kindly to consent that the Polish military formations gathered under the American flag be sent as soon as possible to Poland and incorporated into the Polish Army which to-day is united under my command. The Polish nation, which has suffered for a long time the occupation of its country by foreign armies, is at present preparing with the greatest enthusiasm to receive on their native soil the sons of the Fatherland dispersed all over the world. It makes an appeal to all soldiers of Polish nationality who have fought under foreign flags. In your consent, Mr. President, you, upon whom Poland looks as her chief protector, the whole nation would see a fresh proof of your interest and of your good will towards the Polish cause.

PILSUDSKI.

RUSSIA.

(Including North Russia and Siberia.)

AN APPEAL TO BRITISH AND FRENCH WORKMEN.

Russian wireless (November 4) states:—

The Petrograd Soviet welcomes, in the person of Comrade Litvinoff, the chief representative of the working classes, who, under very difficult conditions, have had to defend the communist flag of the Soviet Republic.

The Petrograd Soviet appeals to British workmen, and tells them not to believe the lies which the British bourgeoisie and their mercenary Press are spreading regarding the Russian proletarian Revolution. The Petrograd Soviet makes the proposal to English workmen that they should send a Workmen's Delegation to Russia in order to see what is going

on in the Soviet Republic. Your representatives will then see that your bourgeoisie government, your yellow Press, as well as your Social Patriots, who have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, are all of them lying. You will then see that a great Workmen's Revolution is taking place in Russia, that the Russian workmen are struggling for your cause as well as for the cause of the workmen of all countries, and also for the International cause of Socialists.

Let the English and French workmen understand that the fate of the International proletariat is now more than ever in their hands. In Germany the Revolution has started. In Russia the workmen's Revolution has been victorious, and English Imperialists are now driving English soldiers to Russia in order to strangle the workmen's revolution. English Imperialism has become the international gendarme, as was Tsarism until recently. English workmen are made the hangmen of the peoples.

Across the barriers created by the capitalists, we say to the English working men: "Rise for the struggle; hunt out your oppressors; demand the cessation of the campaign against Russia; build up your own Soviets."

Long live the International Revolution!

(Signed) ZINOVIEV,
Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet

PROPOSALS TO ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

A Moscow telegram in yesterday's *Vorwärts* says that M. Chicherin, Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs, on November 3 handed a statement to the neutral consuls at Moscow for transmission to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States. This statement says:—"Pursuant to your wish to terminate the armed conflict between the Russian troops and troops of these Powers, the Russian Government proposes the opening of negotiations for the purpose of ending this conflict, and accordingly asks when and where the representatives of both parties can meet for this purpose."—(*Reuter, Amsterdam, November 6.*)

ALL-RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AT OMSK.

An all-Russian Government has been constituted at Omsk, with M. Avksentiev as Premier of the Cabinet, which consists chiefly of members of the former Siberian Government.—(*Reuter, Vladivostok, November 6.*)

PEACE PROPOSALS.

A Petrograd telegram announces that the Soviet Congress opened at Moscow on November 6, 800 delegates being present, comprising 665 Communists, 6 Revolutionary Communists, 2 Social Revolutionaries and 1 Anarchist.

The President, M. Sverdlov, was supported by M. M. Zinoviev, President of the Council of Commissioners of the Petrograd Commune, Kamenev, diplomatic representative of the People's Commissioners, and Stevlov, also Lenin, Dr. Adler, and Herr Liebknecht, the Austrian and German Socialist leaders, as

honorary Presidents. The following resolution was passed: "This Congress considers it its duty to the entire universe, in order to stop bloodshed, to propose to the Governments of France, Great Britain, Italy, the United States and Japan to commence peace negotiations."—(*Reuter, Stockholm, Nov. 7.*)

COMMUNICATIONS WITH GERMANY.

To Haase, Council of the People's Commissaries, Berlin.

It is an urgent necessity that we should enter into direct communication with Berlin. The line via Warsaw is destroyed and Kovno refuses to transmit my message to Berlin. I beg you to order my being put into communication with you by wire, because there is danger of bloody encounters within the occupied regions, and they must be avoided by proper measures. The refusal of the Kovno soldiers to accept our two trains with flour is creating a difficult situation.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

APPEAL TO SOLDIERS OF GERMANY AND THE ALLIES.

Russian wireless (November 11) circulates the following:—

To the German Soldiers' Councils on the Eastern Front:—

Comrades, unite with your Russian comrades, enter into the Russian Revolutionary organizations. The Russian workmen and peasants have prepared food for the German people. Trains with corn are ready to go to Berlin. Inform us where our delegates can meet yours so as to agree upon all details.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

To Allied Soldiers on the Western Front.
TO ALL.

Prussian militarism is crushed not by the guns and tanks of allied imperialism, but by the revolt of the German workers and soldiers. Kaiser Wilhelm has abdicated, and is a prisoner in the hands of his people. In Berlin the soldiers joined the workers in overthrowing the power of the Junkers, and have established a Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

In all the important provincial towns workers and soldiers have risen in revolt, and have taken power into their own hands. The German Fleet has gone wholly over to the revolution, and has nailed to the mast the Red Flag of International Socialism. In the ports of Hamburg, Kiel, Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, and Cuxhaven, the crews have taken command of the ships and established their own discipline under the direction of the Seamen's Councils. The revolutionary German Fleet has sent out wireless messages announcing their adhesion to the revolution. The revolution has spread to the German Army on the Western front. The soldiers refuse to obey their officers. It is reported that they have arrested the delegation that was sent by the Kaiser's Government to discuss the terms of the armistice with the allied

general staff, and have themselves opened negotiations direct with the soldiers of the Red Army. The imperialism of the Central Powers is destroyed. There remains yet the Imperialism of the Allied Powers, who will now attempt to impose their domination over the whole world.

Soldiers, fellow-workers of the Allied Armies, the continuation of the war now clearly can be for no other purpose than to obtain the triumph of Allied capitalism, and to crush the newly won liberty of the German people. The war now becomes definitely a war between the two contending classes: the forces of international capitalism against the working class. Those workers who now carry out the behests of their capitalist Governments are helping to secure the defeat of their own class. Soldiers, fellow-workers in the Allied Armies, refuse any longer to sacrifice yourselves on the altar of imperialism. Refuse to be the tools of the Master Class to attempt to stem the tide of the working-class emancipation. Turn your arms on your real enemies, the enemies who are hounding you to destruction. Capitalist society is shaken to its foundation. With a united effort the workers of the world can free themselves from its domination. Comrades of the Allied Armies, grasp the hand stretched out to you by the revolutionary workers of Russia and sent to Europe. Unite with us to secure the freedom of our class.

DOWN WITH WAR.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

(Signed) The People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

CHICHERIN.

BREST-LITOVSK.

On November 13 the All-Russian Executive Committee passed the following resolution:—

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty and all supplementary treaties have been annulled by the German and Russian revolutionaries, and no longer exist. The peoples of the countries which have been freed by the German Revolution from the oppression of German Imperialism have now the right to decide for themselves their future. Instead of an Imperialist peace, a peace of a league of all the interested peoples, on the basis of the principles as proclaimed by the November Revolution, will now eventuate. All occupied regions will be evacuated.

The revolutionary soldiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the people of the occupied regions will fight together with us for the same cause, against the restoration of the domination of a foreign bourgeoisie. We expect that this League of the toiling masses will be joined by the peoples of other countries.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

THE DON REPUBLIC.

From the White Guard Camp, Voronej (November 15).

The Rostov-Nakhitchewan Committee has issued an appeal to all the working masses of

the Don, pointing to the victorious march of the revolution in the West, and calling upon them to rise against the armies of Krasnoff and Denikin. There is again a great shortage of paper money in the Don region.

BOLSHEVIK MESSAGE TO GERMANY.

Russian wireless (November 16) circulates the following:—

To Hugo Haase, and to the People's Delegates Dittmann and Ledebour, and to the Council of the Soldiers' Delegates, Berlin. Dear Comrades.

I think it necessary to draw your attention to a few questions, the speedy solution of which would be in the interests of the International Proletariat.

1. It is absolutely essential to declare what are the relations between the new Germany and the Councils' Russia. We were told that it is not proper that we should send our greetings to the Berlin Workmen and Soldiers' Council and that we should ask it to agree to the return to Berlin of our Embassy, at present interned at Borisov. Only a clear demonstration of the solidarity of the two Socialistic Republics can stimulate the workmen of the Entente countries; only such an attitude on your side can appeal to our workmen who can get bread for you; only such an attitude can give your workmen the patience to carry on. This must be the first step towards a policy of common defense against the International Counter-Revolution. This is the only real foreign policy. Branting will not take your part.

2. The ending of the German occupation must be carried out without delay if you do not desire that our troops may be drawn by the counter-revolutionaries into fighting against the population, a state of things which would have very grave consequences. In view of the fact that the withdrawal needs time, it is necessary that your trustworthy representatives should be sent to Warsaw, Vilno, Kovno, Riga and Kiev, and there, together with Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish, and Ukrainian Communists, create a sound understanding between the German troops and the population, and that they should unite together to suppress the White Guards, who are dangerous to us both. Only when such collaboration has been created will we be able to avoid insurrection.

3. Much anger has been created here by the conditions affecting war prisoners. Should you not permit a sufficient number of our men to go to Germany to organize the war prisoners and deported workmen and prevent mutinies? If the guards whom you have placed over the war prisoners use their arms upon them, then the responsibility will be with you, because you have done nothing for these tortured victims of the war, and shall have yourselves created the inducements to mutiny.

4. It is necessary that permission shall be granted to a certain number of Polish, Lettish, and Russian comrades to go to Germany and solve these questions with you. If your military authorities fear that Bolsheviks will organize sabotage, should you not give the order that a free passage shall be given only

to those who present a recommendation signed by Chicherin? If you agree to this, a delegation of expert and responsible comrades will start in 24 hours, sent by the Central Committee of the Councils.

5. We also suggest that you should admit French, English, and American comrades, who would carry on the necessary agitation among their countrymen who are war prisoners.

I hope that in spite of all the work you have to do you will find time to answer us within 24 hours, and do so in the name of the German Government, taking precautions that the military authorities shall not adopt a separate policy. Should a reply not come from you, we will try in our own way to reach the German soldiers and workmen with the view of defending the interests of the Russian and German revolution. I hope that you will avoid friction and not renew the bloody war, but throw your authority into the balance on behalf of that revolution. Awaiting your reply, we send you our Communist greetings.

(Signed) KARL RADEK.

THE SIBERIAN COUP D'ETAT.

It is officially announced from Omsk that the Commanders of the First Siberian Division of the First Cossack Regiment and the Chief of a Volunteer detachment on the night of November 18 arrested Avxentiev, head of the All-Russian Government, his assistant, Argunov, and the Socialist Ministers, Zenzinov and Rogovsky, and attempted to dissolve the Government. The Council of Ministers, however, ordered the arrest of the three officers concerned, who will be court-martialled by a specially appointed Commission composed of three generals and a colonel. The sentence imposed will be referred to Admiral Kolchak for confirmation.

THE BREST SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES ABROGATED.

A telegram from Berlin (via Amsterdam, November 19) says that the Central Commission of the Russian Government decided on November 13 to declare null and void the supplementary Brest-Litovsk treaties. It further requested the Governments of the Central Powers to conclude a new peace on a juster basis and to prepare a union of Central and Eastern Europe on Bolshevik principles.—(Reuter.)

"ALL-RUSSIAN" GOVERNMENT FORMED.

A Kiev telegram says: "It was decided at an important political conference at Ekaterinodar, which was attended by representatives of the 'Central State Union of Russia' from Kiev and of the Volunteer Army, to form an All-Russian Government, to be provisionally entitled the Special Assembly, at the headquarters of the staff of the Volunteer Army.

"The Ministerial posts have been divided as follows: Premier, General Dragomirov; Minister of War, General Lukomski; Assistant Minister of War, General Makarenko;

Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Sasonov; Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Neratov; Minister of the Interior, M. Astrov; Minister of Commerce, M. Stepanov; Assistant Minister of Commerce, M. Lebeden; Minister of Communications, M. Shubersky." —(Reuter, Amsterdam, November 21.)

NEW CABINET AT ARCHANGEL.

A Russian wireless (November 21) states:

At Archangel a new Provisional Government has been formed, composed of Tchaikovsky, Colonel Duroff, Prince Kurakin, and several Cadets. The old Provisional Government has been arrested or dispersed.

TCHAIKOVSKY'S PROCLAMATION.

An Archangel message (undated) states that Nicholas Tchaikovsky, the Head of the Northern Russian Government and himself a lifelong Revolutionary, has issued the following proclamation denouncing Bolshevism: To the Population of the Northern Region and Russian Allies.

The world-war is at an end. All civilized humanity breathes a sigh of relief. The crisis of our sickness is past and we are now freed from the immediate mortal threat to civilization and liberty but the danger of incidental complications due to the war remains.

One such complication, Bolshevism, must be liquidated before humanity can devote itself to the constructive work of peace. It is a mistake to suppose that the conclusion of peace between the Allies and the Central Powers puts an end to the danger of Bolshevism.

Unfortunately Bolshevism is a danger not merely to Russia but equally from an international point of view. This danger consists in the seizure of power by a negligible minority, relying on the armed support of a rebel army and navy in order to force the majority to submit to the will of the leaders of a single party, unrecognized by the population and not elected by them for the Government of the country.

Such usurpation of authority is only possible in the atmosphere of war; with the cessation of wars it should immediately be done away with, no matter what high-sounding watchwords it may adopt to justify such violation of the rights of the free people.

In Russia it has been the form of a return to the principle of government by intensive and extraordinary police methods, similar to those employed by the Imperial Government during the period of martial law lasting from 1889 to 1917, with short intervals in 1905 and 1906 at the time of the first Russian Revolution. The Soviet authorities returned to this policy after the October rebellion of 1917. Since that time they have committed more crimes and acts of violence than the Imperial Government during the whole 27 years of its unnatural dictatorship. Now this siren, tempting to its embraces the credulous, weak-minded or unprincipled, is trying to persuade the world that it represents the longed-for Socialist heaven "Proletariat dictatorship." It is time to put an end to this

hoax. All peoples must strain every nerve for the sake of liberty and justice and the happiness of the proletariat of the world; otherwise it will be the grave, not only for their own liberty and prosperity, but those of all humanity. In any case there can be no place for Bolshevik usurpers at the International Peace Congress, for peaceful relations between nations are incompatible with the policy of violence on which Bolshevik power is based. Such policy can only lead to civil war and inevitably leads to war with neighboring nations and destroys the state of peace.

That is why there can be no true end to the war without a final breaking up of Bolshevism, that is why no one having at heart the cause of peace can lay down arms before the Soviet power has been broken.—(*Reuter.*)

BOLSHEVIKS DEMAND GERMAN EVACUATION OF RUSSIA.

A Petrograd telegram says:—

M. Chicherin (Bolshevik Commissary for Foreign Affairs) and M. Radek (Head of the European Department of the Commissariat) have requested the Spartacus Group in Berlin to secure the evacuation as soon as possible of the occupied regions of Russia, the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, and Poland, in order to leave a free field for Bolshevik propaganda.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, Nov. 26.*)

THE MENSHEVIKS.

Russian wireless (November 27) reports that the Central Executive Committee of the Mensheviks has addressed to Socialists of all countries an appeal, in which it states:—

During 20 months the toiling masses of Russia have tried to throw off the yoke of the Tsarist system and of the rich classes so as to secure their political and economic freedom. At the present time the danger to the Russian Revolution from the Imperialists of the Entente countries has become great; this Imperialism aims at the unopposed exploitation of the natural resources of Russia and at the political subjugation of the Russians. Hypocritically, the Entente is waging war against the Revolution, is trying to return the peasants to their former slavery, to restore anarchy and to deprive the proletariat of all political rights; to renew the old cruel discipline in the Army and to establish a military dictatorship. Neither the peasants nor the proletariat will submit. They can only accept the intervention, the fraternal intervention, of the Socialists of other countries. Do not forget us, brothers; defend our revolutionary Russia!

THE UKRAINE.

A GOVERNMENT APPEAL.

German wireless (November 5) states that:

It is reported from Kiev, on November 1, that the Ukrainian Ambassador in Sofia, acting upon instructions from the Ukrainian Government and at the instance of the urgent request of the representatives of the other new States, which formerly belonged to Rus-

sia, has appealed to the Spanish Ambassador in Sofia with the urgent request that the Spanish Government will represent to the Allied Powers and to America that the German troops be not withdrawn from the occupied territories in the East, where they at present happen to be, as otherwise a complete economic destruction of these territories and the murder of the greater part of the population by the Bolshevik terrorists would be unavoidable, and that only after the formation of a Ukrainian Army in that country will the withdrawal of the German troops be possible.

UKRAINIANS, LETTS AND LITHUANIANS.

Representatives of the Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationalities of Eastern Europe held today a meeting at Lausanne under the presidency of M. Edmond Pripat, at which the following resolution was adopted, signed Leekin for the Lettish Bureau, Bale, Stepanowski, and Batchinski for the Ukrainian Bureau, Lausanne, and Viliamoviez for the Lithuanian participants:—

Representatives of our nationalities in Europe send an expression of their sympathy to their fellow-nationals on the realization of their independence in Central Europe in adherence to the programme of President Wilson regarding independence and the League of Nations already adopted by the representatives in Switzerland on October 29. The latter are confident that the Allies, in conformity with President Wilson's principles, will recognize the same rights of free disposition by the nationalities of the former Russian Empire, as also of those of Austria-Hungary. They trust that the Allies, in requiring the evacuation of Eastern territory by the German-Austrian troops, will assure to the nationalities now in course of formation, should they appeal for it, such assistance as may be necessary for defending their frontiers from all invasion, to allow of the final convocation of national assemblies for the organization of the supreme authority of their administrations, and to realize their social reforms without the interference of Russia or any interested third party. The representatives also protest against any sanguinary struggle arising between the reborn peoples, and against all persecution of minorities, and pledge themselves to labor with all their power for a cordial Entente between their respective nationalities on the basis of plebiscites taken in disputed territory.—(*Reuter, Berne, Nov. 8.*)

THE UKRAINE AND GERMANY.

According to German wireless (November 19), the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workmen's Party in the Ukraine has wired to the German People's Government its congratulations on the victory of its German comrades. The telegram says, *inter alia*:—

It seemed as though the world-war must destroy the international unity of the proletariat in the form of a second internationale. But the war has opened the eyes of all the oppressed, and they have begun everywhere to demand peace and the democratization of

their Government. Now the advanced guards of International Democracy have taken the German Empire in hand. The Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workmen's Party is convinced that democracy will conquer everything, and that the Internationale which will lead mankind towards a better future, will resurrect.

NEW CABINET: GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME.

A Kiev telegram states that the Hetman has issued a decree appointing the following Cabinet:—

Premier and Provisional Minister of Agriculture: M. Gerbel.

Minister of Finance: M. R. Shepetzky.

Minister of the Interior: M. Kistyakoski.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: M. Affanasheff.

Minister of War: M. Chutzkoi.

Minister of Labor: M. Kossinski.

Minister of Commerce and Industry: M. Mering.

Minister of Public Instruction: M. Nau-
menko.

Minister of Food: M. Glinke.

Minister of Justice: M. Reinbott.

Minister of State Control: M. Petroff.

Minister of Public Health: M. Ljubinski.

Minister of Religion: M. Woronowitch.

Minister of Communications: M. Lands-
berg.

The formation of the new Cabinet, the telegram continues, is connected with new situation created by the appearance of the Entente in South Russia.

The new Cabinet's declaration demands the restoration of Federal Russia with the safeguarding of the State and national character of the Ukraine; the establishment of order and the combating of Bolshevism; the enactment of the law regarding the convocation of a Democratic National Assembly; agrarian reform; labor protection; freedom of trade; abolition of the corn monopoly and restoration of communications.

At a meeting of the new Cabinet it was resolved in principle to place the Russian and Ukrainian languages on an equal footing in Government affairs.—(*Reuter, Amsterdam, November 17.*)

THE UKRAINE AND A RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

According to a Kiev telegram, the new Ukrainian Premier, M. Gerbel, made the following statement to the *Posledniye Nowosti*:—

The Ukraine will be part of a Russian Federal State. The Ukraine is already in full agreement with the Entente, whose representatives are expected to arrive in Kiev next week.

According to the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, M. Gerbel further said:—

The Ukraine will belong to the New Russian Federal State. Each State contained in it will have a Government of its own, whilst currency, customs, the Army and foreign affairs will be under joint control. M. Gerbel declared war on Bolshevism.

PART VII.

The Neutral Countries

In alphabetical order, with the material arranged chronologically under each head

CHILE.

NEW CABINET.

A new Chilean Cabinet has been formed and is constituted as follows:—

Minister of the Interior: Sr. Armando Quezada.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Sr. Luis Barros Borgoño.

Minister of Finance: Sr. Luis Claro Solar.

Minister of Industry: Sr. Vincente Adrian.

Minister of Justice: Sr. Luis Orregolucio.

Minister of War: Sr. Enrique Bermudez.

(*Reuter, Santiago de Chile, November 25.*)

DENMARK.

SOCIALISTS APPEAL FOR ORDER.

It has been decided that certain of the most important labor questions shall in the future be dealt with by the Socialist member of the Cabinet and Minister without portfolio, M. Stauning, as the Minister of the Interior, M. Rode, is unable to cope with the numerous pressing problems, and desires to relinquish a part of his overwhelming task.

Several questions, especially those of a social nature, and other post-war problems calling for consideration at the earliest moment, have been discussed in the Cabinet, as well as by the Radical and Socialist Parties.

With regard to a number of questions, the carrying out of which must be regarded as of vital importance, an agreement has already been reached. The chief Committee of the Socialist Party publishes a proclamation earnestly exhorting all laborers to maintain quiet and order, and declaring "Denmark is a democracy." The proclamation further says:—

We do not want any reform for which we cannot obtain the support of the majority of the people, but we certainly want reforms which, having obtained such support, will be carried out.—(*Reuter, Copenhagen, November 14.*)

THE FUTURE OF NORTH SCHLESWIG.

According to a Copenhagen wire (November 18), the deputy representing the Danish population in North Schleswig in the German Reichstag, Herr Haussen, at a meeting at Aabenraa, declared that he had received a letter dated November 14 from the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Solf. In this letter Dr. Solf declared that the German Government would solve the problem of North Schleswig in accordance with President Wilson's programme on a basis of self-determination for the population concerned. Herr

Haussen said that the Danish Government would be asked through the Danish Minister in Berlin whether Denmark would accept North Schleswig if a plebiscite gave such a result, which could not be doubted.—(*Reuter.*)

A meeting on November 17 adopted the following resolution:—

(1) Danish North Schleswig is that part of the Duchy of Schleswig which lies to the north of a line from the south coast of Alsens along Flensborg Bay to Kobbemoelle Bay, along the rivulet to Padborg station, farther south of Froeslev to Skeibek along the Soender rivulet to the Ilvid rivulet, and from there west to the North Sea and along the north coast of Sylt. (2) The North Schleswig question must be solved by a plebiscite taken throughout the whole of North Schleswig on the issue whether or not it wishes to be reunited with Denmark. (3) The suffrage shall be granted to all men and women aged 20 years or over, who were either born in North Schleswig or have lived there for ten years. (4) That the suffrage is exercised with security of free decision for everyone. (5) That the present authorities must not exercise any influence upon the plebiscite. (6) We consider it essential that the adjacent districts of Central Schleswig, provided they express a wish to do so, shall have an opportunity by special voting of making known their desire to be united with Denmark. The resolution also suggests that officials and others on both sides of the proposed frontier should be given some time to decide as to their course of action.—(*Reuter.*)

BILL FOR SOCIAL REFORMS.

The Minister, M. Stauning, took over the charge of the new State Secretariat for Labor on November 18. The leading Socialistic journal, *Social Demokraten*, announces that a Government Bill for an eight hours working day in all industrial and mechanical trades is under preparation, and will be presented by M. Stauning as soon as it is ready. The Social-Democratic group, which in the last election obtained a majority in the Municipal Council of Copenhagen, has proposed that the Municipality should fix an eight hours working day for all Municipal workers.—(*Reuter, Copenhagen, November 19.*)

THE SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NORTHERN SCHLESWIG.

The Danish Foreign Department has received through the intermediary of the Danish Minister at Berlin, the following memorial from the Reichstag deputy for Schleswig, M. H. P. Hans-

sen dated Aabernraa, Schleswig, November 18, 1918:—To the Danish Government:—

On behalf of the Danish inhabitants of North Schleswig, I herewith respectfully deliver to the Danish Government a resolution which their political organization, namely, the Voters' Association for North Schleswig, passed at a meeting at Aabenraa. I also enclose a communication from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Republic, Dr. Solf, in which the German Government, in reference to President Wilson's peace programme, acknowledges our right to determine our future on the basis of the self-determination of peoples. In referring to these documents, I request the Government, by communication with the Allied Powers, to take whatever steps are necessary that the Danish population of North Schleswig, in the negotiations for a world peace, may obtain acknowledgement of its right of self-determination, and may in the near future see the fulfilment of its dearest wish, viz., to be reunited with its old Fatherland, Denmark.—(*Reuter, Copenhagen, November 23.*)

GOVERNMENT NOTE.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Seavenius, in a note to M. H. P. Hanssen, Reichstag deputy for Schleswig, expresses his deep satisfaction at M. Hanssen's memorandum of the 18th inst. informing the Danish Government of the resolution passed by the North Schleswig Voters' Association on the previous day demanding the right of self-determination for North Schleswig. The memorandum says:—

The Danish Government takes the view that it should not make any public statement on the subject until the inhabitants of North Schleswig themselves have set forth their claim to decide their future destiny on the basis of self-determination of peoples. But in as much as both belligerent parties have announced their approval of this principle, the Government has conferred with members of both Houses of the Rigsdag, and at a joint secret session of both Houses on the 23rd inst., the following resolution was passed. After hearing the Cabinet's statement, the Rigsdag, in joint session declares:—

1. It is agreed to continue the policy, to which the people has given its approval, of equal neutrality towards all sides.

2. It is agreed that there shall be no alteration in the present position of Schleswig, other than the establishment of an order of things based on the principle of nationality with the desires and interests of the Danish people.

3. It is agreed that during the eventual execution of the principle of nationality and self-determination of peoples the solution shall be reached in such a manner without prejudice to any of the parties on whom the future safety of the reunion depends.

M. Seavenius adds that he will now apply to the Governments of the Associated Powers in order to attain recognition of the rights of the Danes of Northern Schleswig at the peace negotiations, at the same time informing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Republic that he has taken the step.

"The Danish Government expresses profound confidence," concludes the Minister, "that the

burning desire of the Danes for reunion is approaching fulfilment."—(*Reuter, Copenhagen, November 25.*)

HOLLAND.

ATTITUDE TOWARD A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Government memorandum on the Budget contains the following statement:—

Holland will gladly take part in eventual international discussions on the establishment of a league of nations. Holland does not intend to take the path of State socialism either here or in the colonies.—(*Reuter, The Hague, November 9.*)

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The Dutch Government has issued a proclamation which is signed by the whole Cabinet, urgently appealing for the help and co-operation of every citizen and pointing out that, in spite of the war being over, the dislocation of economic life is by no means at an end.

"The time in which we are now living," the proclamation declares, "will not pass without the occurrence of the most serious calamities unless every effort is put forth. The worst is to be feared if serious disturbances take place, and the position would become still more terrible if these disturbances upset the normal course of events. The fate of Russia is a striking example of this."

After setting forth the various measures recently taken by the Government in the interests of the people, the proclamation proceeds to give a warning that all arrangements concluded with Foreign Powers will be endangered if the legal authority at home is weakened, and concludes, after another appeal to the patriotism of the population, especially the most needy among them, by a declaration that the Government is determined in the interests of the right and liberties of the whole people to maintain authority and order. (*Reuter, The Hague, November 12.*)

CATHOLIC TRADES UNION.

The Directorate of the Roman Catholic Trades Union organization presented an address this morning to the Premier assuring the Government of the organization's support in maintaining order. The organization claims the right to speak in the name of more than 100,000 workers. The address further demands the carrying out of a number of measures. The Directorate later had an interview with the Minister of Labor on the various social reforms which were demanded in this address. The Minister gave a sympathetic reply.—(*Reuter, The Hague, November 12.*)

THE STATUS OF THE EX-KAISER: AND THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME.

At the close of the debate in the Second Chamber, on the interpellation concerning the recent military disorders and on the general situation, the Minister of War gave notice of an Amnesty Bill, including within its range

those who refused on grounds of conscience to undertake military service. The Minister expressed the Government's thanks to the army and the volunteer officers for their co-operation in preventing revolution.

The Premier, Jonkheer Ruys van Beerenbrouck, stated that the ex-Kaiser had come to Holland as a private individual, and was being treated as such. The hospitality accorded to him was only what had been accorded for centuries past to refugees in accordance with the national traditions of Holland. It was the duty of the Government to take scrupulous precautions to ensure that no dangerous use should be made of this, but the Government had reason to feel confident that the ex-Kaiser and his *entourage* would avoid even the semblance of any exploitation of their sojourn in Holland for political ends. The Dutch Government, the Premier went on to say, had no reason to suppose that the other states would not respect the ex-Kaiser's status as a visitor to Holland.

Continuing, the Premier said that the Government had learnt more than a fortnight before of the existence of revolutionary designs in the country, and it had not hesitated to take measures for the maintenance of public order. After thanking the army and police for their co-operation, the Premier proceeded:—

Is it desired that the Government should make concessions with a pistol levelled at its breast? Forced concessions act more like oil on the flames than oil on the waters. The Government is desirous of carrying out its programme without intimidation, but is ready to enter into discussion with reference to their programme. All tendency to Conservatism is alien to the Government. The Government will withstand the Conservatism which is against all thorough-going social measures.—(*Reuter, The Hague, November 20.*)

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

The Queen has issued the following proclamation to the Dutch people:

To My People,—

I feel constrained to address these words to you, my people, after we have lived together during these agonizing years on the confines of the war, and during the last days of the war, which is now drawing to its close. Through all these times our independence has been safeguarded. For this my greatest thanks are due to the men of the Army and Navy, who have watched with untiring vigor during these four years, and have sacrificed their time and their energy in the service of their country, and to you, too, men and women of the nation, who have so patiently and bravely endured the privations caused by the war. If I refrained for the moment from expressing my gratitude for our preservation, it was because of the gigantic upheavals which have arisen among the peoples of Europe. Even this country has been threatened with disorder. The reply which has been given to these attempts by an overwhelming majority of the nation has deeply touched me, and I thank you all from the bottom of my heart. Faithful to the traditions of my forefathers, my sole aim has ever been to serve my people by the maintenance of order, by affirming their liberties, and by asserting the rightful

claims of all, both in the moral and the material domain. Supported by your love and fidelity, I feel myself fortified in the conviction that the right which has been granted to the people by the Constitution of asserting their wishes by legal means, and not under threat of compulsion, has been maintained, and that the present parliamentary system can continue. It is my wish to hasten the completion of the projected reforms in a manner suited to the requirements of these stirring times. We must progress if we wish to exclude reaction from our midst. It is my wish that the needs of the people shall be met. The authorities are in a position to do everything to bring about this end. It is my wish to be in constant touch with the mind of my people, and to rule in harmony with the representatives of the whole nation. I feel confident that you will aid me in this task, and that you will approach me with your love and your trust. It is with a feeling of love and trust, too, that I accept your aid. May God bless and protect our dear country.—(*Reuter, The Hague, November 20.*)

LUXEMBURG.

PETITION TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

The Grand Duchess of Luxemburg has asked President Wilson to intervene to protect the Duchy against the dangers incident to the German demobilization and to safeguard its interest at the Peace Conference. The Grand Duchess' communication has been referred to the Supreme War Council at Versailles.—(*Reuter, Washington, November 26.*)

NORWAY.

RESULT OF ELECTIONS.

The final elections leave the Government of the Left a slight nominal majority. The state of parties is: Left, 52; Labor Democrats supporting the Government, 3; Right and Liberal Left, 51; Agricultural Union, probably opposing the Government, 2; Socialists, 18. The Government net loss is 22 and the Socialists lose 1.—(*Reuter, Christiania, November 14.*)

TELEGRAPH CENSORSHIP ABOLISHED.

As a result of the signature of the armistice, the censorship of telegrams, which was instituted as a war measure, has been abolished in Norway.—(*Reuter, Christiania, November 14.*)

SHIPPING LOSSES.

The *Dagens Nyheter* reports that, according to the calculations of the Norwegian Shipping Bureau, a total of 831 Norwegian ships of a total of 1,238,297 dead-weight tons and 1,120 human lives were lost, besides many persons injured through the war.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 16.*)

SPAIN.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

A new Cabinet has been formed by Senor Garcia Prieto including the following:—

Minister of the Interior: Senor Silvela.
Minister of War: General Berenguer.
Minister of Marine: Senor Jose Chacon.
Minister of Justice: Senor Raiz Bergada.
Minister of Public Instruction: Senor Burell.
Minister of Finance: Senor Alba.
Minister of Foreign Affairs: Count Romanones.

Minister of Supply: Senor Garnico.

Senor Garcia Prieto himself will assume the duties of Minister of Public Works in addition to those of Premier.—(*Reuter, Madrid, November 9.*)

REPUBLICAN PARTY'S MANIFESTO.

The Executive Committee of the Republican Party has issued a manifesto in which it appeals for the support of the Spanish people.

"The issue now at stake," it declares, "is not between a Monarchy and a Republic, but between the Monarchy and the State. If Spain is to enter into the League of Nations she must change her institutions. We demand the maintenance of military order and discipline keeping the army out of political strife."

The Committee proceeds to express its views as to the functions of the Executive and to set forth a programme dealing with all the various internal and foreign problems and the proclaiming the supremacy of the civil authority in regard to the subject of Morocco as being a civil rather than a military question. In the field of international politics the manifesto urges that Spain should be drawn towards her natural allies, the democratic Western Powers, by considerations of racial affinity and of community of frontiers, thus securing their moral sympathy and support for her claims and aspirations as an independent State extending to Tangier and not merely to Gibraltar—a limitation which "oppresses and disturbs the national heart."

The Committee indicates the reforms to be introduced in the interests of the proletariat and concludes with the declaration that its desire is to secure the safety of Spain. To this end it calls upon the Spanish people to place the Republican Party in power.—(*Reuter, Madrid, November 17.*)

SWEDEN.

FRANCHISE REFORMS.

The Swedish Government has resolved to reform the Constitution. An equal municipal vote is to be given to tax-payers. The abolition of the present regulation regarding the loss of the vote in cases of non-payment of taxes is also provided for. The reform is to come into force as soon as possible. An early session of the Riksdag will discuss a proposition that the loss of the right to vote in general elections in cases of the non-payment of taxes shall be abolished. The franchise will be extended to women on the same conditions as men. The Riksdag will control questions of war and peace, as well as foreign policy. The Government is resolved to use every available means to carry out necessary

reforms and prevent disorder in the country.
—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 14.*)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

A Royal proposal will be laid before the present extraordinary session of the Riksdag providing for equal communal suffrage, even for those who have not paid the communal taxes, and for the abolition of all the existing guarantees, including the classes supported by the poor rates. These reforms will come into force immediately when the present municipal and provincial governments, which were elected on the basis of income one person could thus control forty votes—and which compose the elective bodies for the First Chamber, are dissolved and new elections have taken place on a general suffrage basis.

An alteration in the Constitution for the purpose of admitting the right of women to political suffrage will be laid before the ordinary session of the Riksdag when it meets January 16. Further constitutional changes are foreshadowed with a view to giving the Riksdag the joint right with the King to decide on war and peace and the effective control of foreign policy.—(*Reuter, Stockholm, November 15.*)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS: SWEEPING REFORMS DEMANDED.

The Social-Democratic Labor Party's organization in Stockholm held a meeting on Thursday evening for the consideration of the political situation. Four halls in the Folkets Hus were entirely filled with an audience estimated at four thousand persons. The speakers were M. Hjalmar Branting, the Secretary of the Party, M. Gustav Moeller, a member of the Riksdag, the editor of the Social-Demokraten, M. Albin Hansson, and M. Arthur Engborg, also a member of the Riksdag.

The following resolution was adopted by the meeting:—

The moment has now come for action for the realization and ensuring of a Democratic and Socialistic order, to be carried out in a legal way. Our minimum programme is: A complete revision of the Constitution with equal communal and political suffrage for all reputable men and women who have reached the age of twenty-one years; measures for popular representation and a popular Government and the introduction of a republican regime, if the majority of the population adopt a referendum in that sense; an eight hours' working day; immediate suspension of recruiting and drilling and the establishment of a commission to draft a proposal for the speedy settlement of the military question; and new elections on the principle of Democratic suffrage by the elective bodies to the First Chamber.—(*November 15.*)

PROTEST TO THE POLES.

M. Branting and M. Moeller, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, have sent the following telegram to M. Daszinsky, the Polish Prime Minister:

It has come to our knowledge that in the course of the last few weeks a great number of pogroms have taken place in Western Galicia. We are persuaded that you will exercise your great influence to prevent any further excesses. Such inhuman actions are seriously threatening the reputation of the Polish

people as a civilized nation. It must be to your own interest and that of the freedom of Poland—greeted by us with joy—to protect the rights of the national minorities in Polish territories. Socialist greetings.—(*Reuter, November 25.*)

PART VIII.

Allied Countries and the U. S.

In alphabetical order, with material arranged chronologically
under each head

BELGIUM.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

A Reuter message from Brussels (November 19) states that the new Ministry, which submitted the Government's programme at the first meeting of Parliament on November 22, consists of the following:—

Catholic Party:—

M. Delacroix: Premier and Minister of Finance.

M. Renkin: Railways.

Baron de Broqueville: Interior.

M. Vandevyvere: Agriculture.

M. Jaspart: Science and Art.

M. Harmignies: Economic Relations.

Liberal Party:—

M. Janson or M. Masson: War.

M. Hymans: Foreign Affairs.

M. Franck: Colonies.

Socialist Party:—

M. Anseele: Public Works.

M. Vandervelde: Justice.

M. Wauters: Industrial Works.

M. Coppeters: Under-Secretary of Public Works.

The program of the new Government will be as follows:— Universal suffrage at the age of 21 years with a six months' residential qualification; a general election to be held as soon as possible, probably next May; every effort to be made to reduce to a minimum the formalities attending a revision of the constitution; the repeal of Article 310 of the Penal Code regarding freedom of labor; the establishment of a Flemish University in progressive stages by the extension of certain courses at Ghent University; the question of the vote for women to remain open but must not be regarded as settled.

The work of the Government will probably be concluded with the General Election, which, it is believed, will result in a change in the strength of the various parties.

The entry of the Socialists in the Government was decided upon by the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party, when an Order of the Day in favor of participation of Socialists in the Government of National Reconstruction was passed by 33 votes to three, with three abstentions.

BRAZIL.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

Dr. Wenceslau Brag has handed over to Dr. Rodrigues Alves the Seals of Office at the end of his term as President.

The new President has signed a Decree for the appointment of the following Ministry:—

Amaro Cavalcanti, Finance; Afranio Mello Franco, Interior; Urbano Santos, Justice; Domicio da Gama, Foreign Affairs; Vice Admiral Gomes Pereira, Marine; General Cardoro Aguiar, War; Pereira Lima (provisionally), Agriculture.

(Amaro Cavalcanti was Prefect of the Federal District. Urbano Santos was Vice-President of the Republic; the new Vice-President is Dr. Delfim Moreira. Domicio de Gama was Brazilian Ambassador to the United States.)

BRAZIL'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

According to the Rio de Janeiro newspapers (November 21), Brazil will be represented at the peace conference by Dr. Nilo Pecanha, Senor Ruy Barbosa, Admiral Vuit Bacellar and General Trompowsky.—(*Reuter.*)

CHINA.

ALLIES' NOTE.

A Reuter message from Peking (November 2), states that the Allied Legations, in a Note to the Chinese Government, express disappointment that instead of utilizing for the development of the country's industrial resources the released customs funds formerly absorbed in the Boxer indemnity payments China has wasted such moneys on internal strife. The Note recapitulates the many points in which China has not fulfilled her duties as an Ally in connection with enemy aliens, spies, and intriguers.

The Cabinet has agreed to declare North Manchuria a war zone with a view to facilitating military control.—(*Reuter.*)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

A Reuter message from Peking (November 16), states that Liu Cheng-Hsiang, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been nominated head of the Chinese delegation to the international Peace Conference. Alfred Sze Yen, ex-Minister

in Berlin, Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, Minister at Washington, and Phillip Tyan, ex-Secretary of Embassy in London, and two foreign advisers are also mentioned.

FRANCE.

M. CLEMENCEAU ON THE AMISTICE

M. Clemenceau, speaking (November 11) to representatives of the Press said:—

The armistice was signed this morning after a lengthy discussion, which, however, had reference only to matters of secondary importance. A few changes of minor import were made in the original text. The Germans themselves recognized the very conciliatory spirit we displayed in the discussion relative to the armistice, and they intend to publish a statement paying a tribute to France and her Allies. The German plenipotentiaries attached especial importance to the question of food supply. The blockade, however, would be maintained during the entire period of the armistice. As, however, the situation in Germany and Austria is desperate we shall do all that is possible to revictual them to such a degree as will not embarrass ourselves. The question of transport is the one which dominates all these problems. Germany is going to give back all the locomotives and the 150,000 trucks which were taken from us, and this, naturally, will not render her own means of food supply any easier. Germany waited until the last minute of exhaustion before she capitulated, and now does not find herself in normal conditions which would have allowed of her revictualing herself. We must at the earliest moment come to her assistance as we are not waging war against humanity, but for humanity.—(*Reuter.*)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE.

A Copenhagen wire (November 13) states that at Strassburg the members of the Lower House of the Alsace-Lorraine Diet constituted themselves a National Council, and appointed a provisional Administration Committee, comprising the following members:—

Public Instruction, Herr Heinrich.
Agriculture, Herr Imbs.
Social Welfare, Herr Jung.
Finance, Herr Meyer.
Communications, Dr. Pfleger.
Interior, Herr Peirotés.

Dr. Ricklin and the President of the National Council are appointed State Secretaries without portfolio.—(*Reuter.*)

ANGLO-FRENCH SHIPPING AGREEMENT.

The following semi-official statement was issued at Paris (November 16):—

The British War Cabinet has just agreed to the proposals, which were laid before it by the Shipping Controller at the request of the French Government, regarding the cession to France of important tonnage in the shape of vessels, either recently constructed or now in

course of construction, in British shipbuilding yards. This arrangement is the outcome of the negotiations, which have been proceeding since January, 1918, between M. Clementel (Minister of Commerce) and Sir Joseph MacLay (British Shipping Controller), and has reference to the cession of 500,000 gross tons of shipping, one-third to be delivered at the conclusion of hostilities, another third in the course of the first year after the war, and the remaining third during the succeeding year.

The importance of the result thus achieved will be the better appreciated when it is borne in mind that this amount of tonnage is not less than 35 per cent. of the total tonnage now sailing under the French flag. The task of elaborating the technical details of the agreement in conjunction with the Minister of Commerce and Maritime Transport and M. Bouisson, Government Commissioner of Maritime Transport for the Merchant Marine, has been entrusted to the Shipping Controller by the War Cabinet.

WOMEN OF FRANCE REPLY TO APPEAL BY GERMAN WOMEN.

The Press having published a message from German women asking Madame Jules Sigfried, the President of the National Council of French Women to intercede with the French Government to mitigate the terms of the armistice, the Committee of the National Council held a meeting November 21 at which it was unanimously resolved to send the following reply:—

No. We shall not intercede with our Government to mitigate the conditions of the armistice, which are only too justified by the disloyal manner in which Germany has waged war. In the course of these tragic years German women, certain of victory, remained silent at the crimes of their Government, their Army, and their Navy. At the Congress at The Hague, to which we refused to go, the President of the National Council of German Women was invited to protest against the violation of Belgium and against the torpedoing of the "Lusitania." She wrote in reply:

"We are at one with our Government and with our people. The men who took the responsibility for Germany's decisions are as dear to us as those who are shedding their blood for us on the battlefield." To our indignant protest against the deportation of women and young girls, when we showed that history might possibly bring a reversal of fortune, when we implored all women to unite with us so that they should not be debarred forever from invoking the cause of justice, there was no echo from the enemy side. Why, therefore, should we intervene to-day regarding the conditions which only have the object of rendering impossible any resumption of the war. Before all our pity is bestowed on our unfortunate prisoners, whom hunger-typhus has reduced so cruelly in numbers, and on our people in the regained territories who were so hatefully ill-treated.

Let German women remember this and they will understand our silence.—(*Reuter.*)

ITALY.

(Includes the Vatican)

THE POPE AND THE ITALIAN VICTORY.

The Pope has sent to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, a letter in which he says that the enemies of the Holy See are trying to excite Italian public opinion, which is now exulting over the recent victory, against the Vatican almost "as though we regretted in our hearts such an event."

Continuing, his Holiness says that the Cardinal knows his views, which were fully expressed in his letter of August, 1917, to the heads of the belligerent Powers, in which "we prayed on that as also on other occasions that all territorial questions between Austria and Italy might be solved in conformity with the just aspirations of the people. Recently, moreover, we have given instructions to the Nuncio in Vienna to place himself in friendly relations with the nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which have lately constituted themselves as independent States."

In conclusion, the Pope declares that the Roman Catholic Church, being an institution which aims solely at the sanctification of men of all countries and which adapts itself to their different forms of Government, consequently accepts without difficulty the legitimate territorial and political changes of all peoples. He therefore thinks that if these sentiments of his had been more generally known, nobody would have attributed to him any feelings of regret. Such reports are devoid of all foundations. His only sorrow, he adds, is that the peace which has now dawned over his own beloved country has not yet reached all the other belligerent nations. His Holiness trusts, however, that peace will soon again reign in all countries.—(*Reuter, Rome, November 9.*)

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY CHARGED WITH BREACH OF FAITH.

The following has been issued through the wireless stations of the Italian Government:—

To the Authorities in Possession of the Austro-Hungarian Fleet.

The 96 hours which were laid down having elapsed at three p. m. on Friday, I declare that some of the naval clauses of the armistice treaty, stipulated for by the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers and the United States of America on the one side, and accepted by the plenipotentiaries of Austria-Hungary on the other side, have not been complied with.

Information has not been supplied concerning the location and movements of the Austro-Hungarian ships.

The plans of the minefields and barriers have not been communicated.

The merchant ships of the Allied and associated Powers have not been handed over.

The part of the Navy which had been agreed upon has not been surrendered.

The above facts constitute a complete breach of the agreement solemnly stipulated for by the armistice convention.

(Signed) **THAON DI REVAL.**

Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Navy.

—*Admiralty, per Wireless Press.*

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

In the Chamber of Deputies (November 27) in the course of the continued debate on the Government's declarations Signor Orlando, the Premier, said that the Government would accept Signor Barzilai's order of the day, which was as follows: "The Chamber approving the work of the Government and its declarations announcing that its vow had been accomplished and the unity of the country achieved, passes to the order of the day."

Signor Barzilai's order of the day was passed by 325 votes to 33. The President of the Chamber, Signor Marcora, also voted in favor of Signor Barzilai's order of the day amid loud cheers.—(*Reuter.*)

RUMANIA.

ULTIMATUM TO GERMANY.

The following ultimatum was transmitted by the Rumanian Government on Saturday at 9 p. m. to Field Marshal Mackensen:—

"In order to prevent Rumania being again made a battlefield, it is requisite that the German troops within 24 hours should leave Rumanian territory. When this time has elapsed, the German troops must lay down their arms and abstain from any destruction and violence for which the German Government will be rendered responsible.

"We shall wait until tomorrow at 9 p. m. for a reply. Failing this, we shall be obliged to use force to attain the said result."

THE UNITED STATES.

SUPPORT OF RUMANIA.

The following is the text of the message addressed by the Secretary of State to the representative of the Rumanian Government:—

Department of State, Washington,

November 5, 1918.

Sir,—The Government of the United States has constantly had in mind the future welfare and integrity of Rumania as a free and independent country, and prior to the existence of a state of war between the United States and Austria-Hungary, a message of sympathy and appreciation was sent by the President to the King of Rumania. Conditions have changed since that time, and the President accordingly desires me to inform you that the Government of the United States is not unmindful of the aspirations of the Rumanian people without, as well as within, the boundaries of the kingdom. It has witnessed their struggles and sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of freedom from their enemies and their oppressors. With the spirit of national unity and the aspirations of the Rumanians everywhere the Government of the United States deeply sympathizes, and will not neglect at the proper time to exert its influence that the just political and territorial rights of the Rumanian people may be obtained and made secure from all foreign aggression.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) **ROBERT LANSING.**

—(*Reuter*)

THE BELGIAN MINES.

Mr. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, has handed M. Hans Sulzer, Swiss Minister to the United States in charge of German interests in this country, the following communication for transmission to the German Government:—

In its note of October 20 the German Government announced that "the German troops are under the strictest instructions to spare private property and to exercise care for the population to the best of their ability." Information has now reached the Government of the United States that the German authorities in Belgium have given notice to the coal-mining companies that all men and animals should be brought out of the pits, that all raw materials in possession of the company should be delivered to the Germans, and that the mines will be destroyed at once.

Acts so wanton and malicious, involving as they do the destruction of a vital necessity to the village population of Belgium and the consequent suffering and loss of human life which will follow, cannot fail to impress the Government and the people of the United States as wilfully cruel and inhuman. If these acts, in flagrant violation of the declaration of October 20, are perpetrated, they will confirm the belief that the solemn assurances of the German Government are not given in good faith.

In the circumstances, the Government of the United States, to which the declaration of October 20 was made, enters an emphatic protest against the measure contemplated by the German authorities, for whose conduct the Government of Germany is wholly responsible.

—United States Information Bureau, Nov. 8.

PRESIDENT WILSON TO THE LIBERATED PEOPLES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

A Prague telegram to the Czecho-Slovak Press Bureau (November 9) announces that the following telegram has been sent by President Wilson to the liberated Austro-Hungarian peoples:—

It may be permitted me, as spokesman of the majority of your closest friends, to say that all friends of freedom, wherever they are, especially those whose present duty it is to help the liberated peoples of the world to establish themselves in real freedom, entertain the hope and expectation that the statesmen of the peoples of the countries now freed will do everything to carry through the impending critical changes with benevolence as well as firmness, and to avoid and prevent all acts of violence, so that no inhuman act may besmirch the annals of this reorganization of humanity. You know such deeds have only resulted in delaying the attainment of great things for which we are all fighting. I address myself, therefore, confidently to you to suppress all abuse of power which might arrest or besmirch the progress of freedom.

—(Reuter.)

MR. HOOVER LEAVING FOR EUROPE.

The American Legation at Copenhagen has received (November 9) the following telegram

from the Department of State in Washington:—

Mr. Hoover, the United States Food Administrator, is leaving for Europe within a few days as the special representative of the President, personally to confer as to the best means of furnishing food and other supplies to the peoples who have been freed from the control of the enemy. He will visit the territories, which were formerly Austro-Hungarian, after having first conferred with the Allied Government, and will take such steps as may be possible to relieve these nationalities which are suffering so greatly from famine and want. Respect for constituted authority and the preservation of public order are essential to enable speedy and effective relief to reach the people.

(Signed) LANSING.—(Reuter)

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT WILSON.

President Wilson read the armistice terms to a Joint Session of Congress convened at one o'clock (November 11). Before reading the terms of the armistice, he said:—

Gentlemen of the Congress,—In these anxious times of rapid and stupendous change it will in some degree lighten my sense of responsibility to perform in person the duty of communicating to you some of the larger circumstances of the situation with which it is necessary to deal.

The German authorities who have, at the invitation of the Supreme War Council, been in communication with Marshal Foch, have accepted and signed the terms of armistice which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them.

After reading the terms the President continued: The war thus comes to an end, for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German Command to renew it. It is now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end, and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute in a way of which we are all deeply proud to the great result. We know too that the object of the war is attained, the object upon which all free men set their hearts, and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed Imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world, is discredited and destroyed, and, more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful States. There is no longer conjecture as

to the objects the victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, and not only a mind but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong. The humane temper and intentions of the victorious Governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the Supreme War Council at Versailles have, by unanimous resolution, assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives, and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner in which they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform—it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible. For with the fall of the ancient Governments which rested like an incubus upon the peoples of the Central Empires has come political change not merely, but revolution, and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and order form, but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves with what Governments and of what sort are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace? With what authority will they meet us, and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promise and engagements besides our own is it to rest? Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful, above all, of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is taking place. Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.

The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly process of their Governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make a permanent conquest. I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make the conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness. The peoples who have just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary govern-

ment, and who are now coming at last into their freedom, will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope. They are now face to face with the initial test. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbors and of their former masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own affairs in order. I, for one, do not doubt their purpose or their capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last.

STATEMENT OF MR. HOOVER.

Conditions of famine exist in Europe, Mr. Hoover said, that will be "beyond our powers to remedy," even with the carrying out of the plan to ship from America 20,000,000 tons of foodstuffs during the next year. In Northern Russia alone, he declared, there are 40,000,000 people who have but little chance of obtaining food this Winter. Millions of others throughout Europe, he said, who can be reached must be fed.

"In the matter of wheat and rye," said Mr. Hoover, "the large supplies that have accumulated in the Argentine, Australia, and other inaccessible markets appear to us to supplement the store of clear wheat bread for the world. It will, however, require a continued high percentage of milling, with continuous economy in consumption and the elimination of waste. Here directly arises a change in our policies, for we are able from now on to abandon the use of substitutes in our wheat loaf. The world's supply of wheat at this juncture is a priceless blessing, for, while bread comprises but 25 per cent. of our national diet, the food of Europe is from 50 to 60 per cent. sheer bread. The large harvest that we have here this year is, to a large degree, the result of the guaranteed price, and we may rightly be proud that our production and conservation policies have provided the necessary margins to the world of its daily bread." (November 12.)

FOODSTUFFS FOR GERMANY.

President Wilson's reply, sent through Mr. Lansing, under date of November 12, and handed to the Swiss Minister, calls attention to the President's speech to Congress on November 11, giving the decision of the Versailles Council to relieve, as far as possible the distressing conditions in the Central Empires and the President's opinion that idle German tonnage could be used to ameliorate the conditions. The President's reply concludes:—

Accordingly the President now directs me to state that he is ready to consider favorably the

supplying of foodstuffs to Germany and to take up the matter immediately with the Allied Governments, provided he can be assured that public order is being and will continue to be maintained in Germany, and that the equitable distribution of the food can be clearly guaranteed. (*Reuter*).

UNITED STATES LOANS TO ALLIES.

It is officially announced (Washington, November 14), that a further credit of \$100,000,000 has been granted to Italy. Loans to Italy now aggregate \$1,160,000,000 and to all the allies \$7,912,000,000. (*Reuter*).

GERMANY REQUESTED TO ADDRESS THE ALLIES.

Mr. Lansing, on November 17, sent a Note to Dr. Solf, acting German Foreign Secretary, informing him that the wireless message addressed to President Wilson by the German Government relative to relief from certain requirements of the armistice will be communicated to the Governments associated with the United States and also to the Supreme War Council in Paris.

"The Government of the United States," adds the Note, "takes this opportunity of suggesting to the German Government that communications of this nature, which pertain to the terms of the armistice, should be sent to all the associated Governments and not addressed to the President or Government of the United States alone. The United States Government desires to call the German Government's attention to the fact that these communications should be presented through the established diplomatic channels rather than by direct radio communication."—*United States Information Bureau*.—(November 17.)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

An Associated Press telegram from Washington (November 18) says:—

Officials of the Department of Justice utter warnings against the many evidences of the resumption of pro-German propaganda in the United States, designed to influence the peace terms. There is a concerted movement apparent in the utterances of individuals and organizations, and a few newspapers formerly active for German interests, which have taken their cue from the Berlin Wireless, are insidiously attempting to make the nation forget Germany's behavior during the war. Illustrating the danger of enemy's propaganda in order to obtain undeserved leniency in the final peace terms, it is stated that Government agencies have ordered the internment of some Germans since the armistice was signed a week ago. Official reports show that German representatives in various parts of the world are still actively engaged in creating hostility toward the Allies in the United States. Herr Eckhardt, the notorious German Ambassador in Mexico City, is again reported to be doing his utmost to strain the relations between Mexico and the United States, and is still able to publish misleading articles in a semi-official Mexican newspaper. Recently he stated that

the German Army had not been defeated and that the German Navy was still fighting the Allied navies.—(*Reuter*.)

FOOD FOR THE ALLIES AND AUSTRIA.

A Reuter message from Washington (November 19), states that ships carrying 200,000 tons of foodstuffs for the population of Northern France, Belgium, and Austria are now on their way to Gibraltar and the British Channel ports under sealed orders.

THE FUTURE OF SCHLESWIG.

President Wilson sent the following reply (November 21) to a petition from Americans hailing from Schleswig who asked that the inhabitants of Schleswig should be granted the right of determining for themselves whether they are to give allegiance to Denmark or Germany:—

In addressing myself to you I wish to include all Schleswigers who have signed the petition directed to me, as well as a still greater number of Americans of the Danish race who have endorsed that petition. The statement you have given me, signed by former residents of Schleswig and endorsed by a still greater number of Danes, all now American citizens, has voiced a new and un-forgotten injustice. I can assure you that your appeal to America's sympathy and passion for justice will not go unheeded, for it founds itself wisely upon the rights of men who rule themselves and to choose the manner in which that self-rule will be exercised. I do not doubt that your voice and that of your former countrymen will be heard and heeded wherever the thought of nations turns to the righting of old wrongs kept fresh by the lengthened oppression of intervening years. It is for the whole world which has borne the burdens of war to share in the adjustment of peace. Not America alone, but all peoples now quickened to a newer sense of the values of justice must join in the relief of a grievance whose continuance would traverse the principles for which more than a score of nations are now fighting. Please accept on behalf of the Schleswigers in this country my thanks for the faith of which their petition is an evidence and on behalf of your race of the old country my earnest wish for the hastening of the time when right and justice shall prevail to deliver them from oppression.

Cordially and sincerely yours.

(Signed)

WOODROW WILSON

—(*Reuter*.)

THE INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE.

The American Government has refused (November 27) to approve the transfer to a British syndicate of vessels of British registry, owned by the International Mercantile Marine. The announcement says that the American Government has offered to take over the vessels on the same terms of those offered by the British. The vessels include the "Olympic" and other important high-speed boats.

Later.—The directors of the International Mercantile Marine have issued the following statement: "We are advised that the Government is prepared to take over the ownership of the vessels upon the terms of the British offer. The details are to be worked out."

An officer of the company interpreted the statement as foreshadowing the transfer of the vessels to the Government.

Later.—It is reported that the International Mercantile Marine has accepted the offer of the United States Government to purchase their ships of a total tonnage of 720,000 tons, which fly the British flag.—(*Reuter.*)

LABOR DELEGATES.

It is announced that the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the International Labor Conference, "which will be held in Paris concurrently with the Peace Conference," will consist of Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. Frank Morrison, of the Federation of Labor; Mr. William Green, of the United Mineworkers; Mr. John Alpine, president of the Plumbers' Association; Mr. James Duncan, of the International Association of Granite Cutters; Mr. Frank Duffy, of the Carpenters and Joiners' United Brotherhood.

THE TOTAL COST OF THE WAR.

The Federal Reserve Board estimates that the cost of the war for all belligerents up to May 1 was \$175,000,000,000, and that the probable cost up to the end of the present year will be \$200,000,000,000. These calculations have been compiled from various sources, and, while their accuracy is not vouched for, the Board has reason to believe that the figures are substantially correct.

The Public Debt of the principal Entente Allies is estimated at \$105,000,000,000, and the aggregate debt of the Central Powers at \$45,000,000,000.—(*Reuter.*)

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, DEC. 2.

The year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give to Congress from time to time information on the state of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the far-reaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things as I have. It is to soon to assess them. We who have stood in the midst of them and are part of them are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean or even what they have been. But some great outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute in a sense part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive action and which we have yet to shape and determine.

A year ago we had sent 145,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month, the number in fact rising in May last to 245,951, in June

to 278,760, in July to 307,182 and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September—in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. No such movement of troops ever took place before across 3,000 miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 758 men were lost by enemy attack, 630 men of whom were on a single English transport which was sunk near the Orkney Islands. I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material.

It is not invidious to say that back of it lay the supporting organization of the industries of the country and of all its productive activities, more complete, more thorough in method and effective in result, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort than any other great belligerent has been able to effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in exigent and exacting business—their every source and every executive proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were their pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and readiness of co-operation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply and equipment and despatch that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over, and of the sailors who kept the seas and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievements when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pressed irresistibly forward to a final triumph may now forget all that, and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did. Their officers understood the grim and exacting task that they had undertaken and performed it with an audacity, sufficiency and unhesitating courage that touch the story of the convoy and the battle with imperishable distinction at every turn, whether the enterprises were great or small, from their great chiefs, Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest lieutenants; and their men were worthy of them, such men as hardly need be commanded, and such as go to their terrible adventure blithely and with the quick intelligence of those who know what it is they would accomplish.

I am proud to be the fellow countryman of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty; the war could not have been won, or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise; but for many a long day we shall think ourselves "Accursed we were not there, and hold our manhoods cheap while any speaks that fought," with these at Saint-Mihiel or Château-Thierry. The memory of those days of triumphant battle will go with these

fortunate men to their graves, and each will have his favorite memory. What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude, is that our men went in force into the line of battle, just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance, and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep the fateful struggle; turn it once for all so that henceforth it was back, back, for their enemies, always back, never again forward.

After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten, and now their empires are in liquidation, and throughout it, how fine the spirit of the nation was—what untiring zeal, what elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, what untiring accomplishment!

I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that they had been with the men whom we had sustained by our labor, but we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to have been here in the midst of the fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews for the whole undertaking. The patriotism, unselfishness, thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors, day after day, month after month, have made them the fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea; and not the men here in Washington only. They directed the vast achievement through innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in the depths of coal, iron and copper mines, and whenever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed to sustain the battle-line, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man-at-arms in the face and say "We also strove to win, and gave the best that was in us to make our fleet and armies sure of their triumph."

And what shall we say of the women—of their intelligence, quickening every task they touch, their capacity for organization and co-operation which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted, the aptitude at the task to which they had never before set hand, their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and in what they gave? Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new lustre to the annals of American womanhood. The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice.

Besides the immense practical services they have rendered, the women of the country have been the moving spirits in systemizing the economies by which our people voluntarily assisted, supplying the suffering peoples of the world and the armies on every front

with food and everything else that we might have to serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written, but we carry them in our hearts and thank God that we can say we are kinsmen of such.

And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice has been made. It has come in its completeness, and with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us we turn to the tasks of peace—peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries—and make ready for the new order, for the new foundations of justice and fair dealings. We are about to give order and organization to this peace, not only for ourselves, but for other peoples of the world. It is international justice we seek, not domestic safety merely. Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the Near and Far East, and very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own door.

While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world, is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors, and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope that the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unrati-fied treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them early favorable action upon that vital matter, I believe they will feel with me that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will not only be just but generous and in the spirit of the new age upon which we have so happily entered.

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, the problem of our return to peace is the problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered disarrangements and losses from the war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose, self-reliant in action. Any leading-string we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled, because they would pay no attention to it and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there and elsewhere as we may.

But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. The raw materials upon which the Government had kept its hand that there should be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery have been taken over for the uses of the Government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It is not possible to remove so quickly the control of foodstuffs and shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as

possible and more and more as the weeks go by.

It is surprising how fast the process of a return to a peace footing has moved in the three weeks since the fighting stopped. It promises to outrun any inquiry that may be instituted and any aid that may be offered. It will not be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American businessman is of quick initiative. The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not, however, provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. Those who are of trained capacity, those who have acquired familiarity with established businesses, those who are ready and willing to go to the farms, all those whose aptitudes are known or will be sought out by employers, will find no difficulty, it is safe to say, in finding place and employment.

But there are others who will be at loss as to where to gain a livelihood, unless pains are taken to guide them and put them in the way of work. There will be a large floating residuum of labor which should not be left wholly to shift for itself. It seems to me, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be promptly resumed so that opportunity should be created for unskilled labor in particular, and that plans should be made for such development of our unused lands and our national resources as we have heretofore lacked the stimulation to undertake.

I particularly direct your attention to the very practical plans which the Secretary of the Interior has developed in his annual report and before your committees for the reclamation of the arid, swamp and cut-over lands which might, if the States were willing and able to co-operate, redeem some 300,000,000 acres of land at present arid, for whose reclamation water is available if properly conserved. There are about 230,000,000 acres from which the forests have been cut, but which have never yet been cleared for the plough and which lie waste and desolate. These lie scattered all over the Union. And there are nearly 80,000,000 acres of land that lie under swamps or are subject to periodical overflow or too arid for anything but grazing, which are perfectly feasible to drain and protect and to redeem.

May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and Northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve, of themselves, to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than to merely find the money. If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not resume their place in the industry of worlds to-morrow—the very important place they held before the flag of war swept across them. Many of their factories were razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed, or has been taken away. Their people are scattered and many of their best workers are dead. Their markets will be taken by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for material and for industrial facilities which is now to set in.

I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling if it should become necessary to

grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board their right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror, and whom we must not thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

For the steadying and facilitation of our own domestic business readjustments nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919 and 1920. As much of the burden of taxation as sound methods of financing the Government will permit must be lifted from business and those who conduct the great essential industries of the country must be told as exactly as possible what obligations to the Government they will be expected to meet in the years immediately ahead of them. It will be of serious consequence to the country to delay the removing of all certainties in this matter a single day longer than the right processes of debate justify.

If the war had continued it would have been necessary to raise at least eight billion dollars by taxation payable in the year 1919; but the war has ended and I agree with the Secretary of the Treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to six billions. An immediate rapid decline on the expenses of the Government is not to be looked for.

The maintenance of our forces on the other side of the sea is still necessary. A considerable proportion of these forces must remain in Europe during the period of occupation, and those which are brought home will be transported and demobilized at heavy expense for months to come.

I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval programme which was undertaken before we entered the war. The Secretary of the Navy has submitted to your committee, for authorization, that part of the programme which covers the building plans of the next three years. These plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with the policy which the Congress established not under exceptional conditions of the war, but with the intention of adhering to a definite method of development for the Navy. I earnestly recommend the uninterrupted pursuit of the policy. It would clearly be unwise for us to attempt to adjust our progress to a future world policy as yet undetermined.

The question which causes me greatest concern is the question of policy to be adopted towards the railroads. I frankly turn to you for counsel upon it. I have no confident judgment of my own. It is a problem that must be studied; studied immediately and studied without bias or prejudice.

We may hope, I believe, for the formal conclusion of war by treaty by the time spring has come.

I welcome this occasion to announce to Congress my purpose to join in Paris, the representative Governments with which we have been associated in war against the Central Empires, for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the Treaty of Peace. I realize the great inconvenience that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but conclusions to the effect that it was my

paramount duty to go, have been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

The Allied Governments have accepted the basis of peace which I outlined to Congress on the eighth day of January last, as the Central Empires also have and very reasonably desired my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purpose of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all nations concerned, may be made fully manifest.

The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance, both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interests which should take precedence over them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have conscientiously fought for ideals which they know to be the ideals of their country. I have sought to express these ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as in substance their own thoughts and purpose as the associated Governments have accepted them. I owe it to them to see to it as far as in me lies that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible effort omitted to release them.

It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered—their lives, their blood—to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this. I shall be in close touch with you and with the affairs on this side of the water and you will know all that I do.

At my request the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship on the cable news, which, until a fortnight ago, they had maintained and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this time, except upon attempted trade communications with the enemy countries.

It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with other uses of the cables I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they might be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that the delicate tasks I shall have to perform

on the other side of the sea in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and added strength of your united support. I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking and I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with other working heads of associated Governments.

I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. Cables and wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in thought and constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

TERMINATION OF WAR POWERS

(For purposes of reference the following list is given of the periods of the various Governmental "war powers" in the United States.)

Control of railroads—Twenty-one months after the war.

Control of telegraph and telephone lines—During the war.

Food and fuel control—When state of war is ended and proclaimed.

Espionage act—End of the war.

War trade board and export control—End of the war.

War finance corporation—Six months after the war, with further time for liquidation.

Capital issues committee—Six months after the war.

Reorganization of government bureaus under the Overman law—Six months after the war.

Alien property custodians—End of the war, with extension of time for certain duties.

Government operation of ships—Five years after the war.

Aircraft board—Six months after the war.

Agricultural stimulation—End of the present emergency.

Housing construction—End of the war, except for shipbuilders.

Labor employment—During the emergency.

Minerals stimulation—As soon as possible after proclamation of peace.

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